

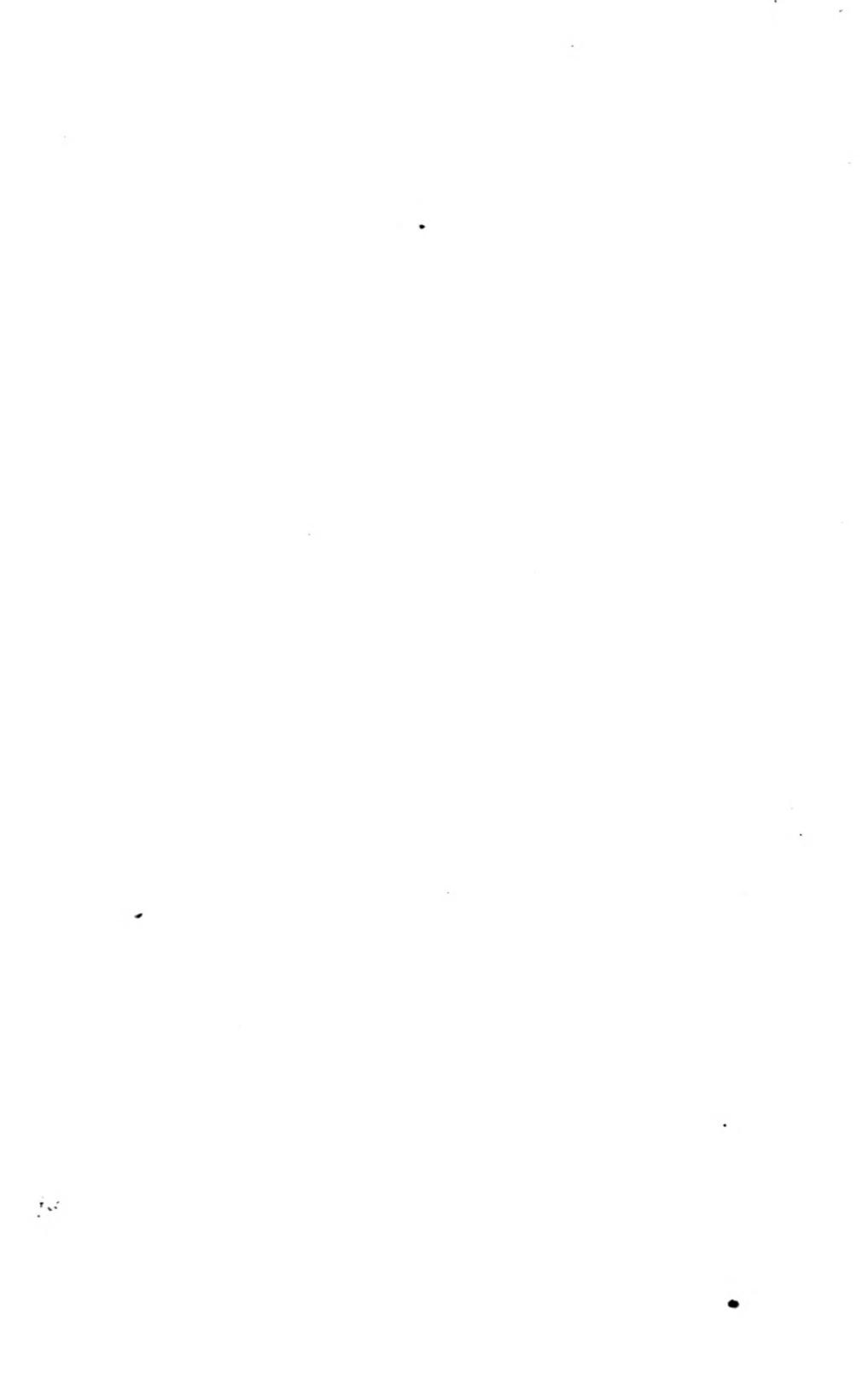


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# JOURNAL OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE

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Volume XXXII

Part I

1913

## Israel's Conquest of Canaan

Presidential Address at the Annual Meeting, Dec. 27, 1912

LEWIS BAYLES PATON

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

NO problem of Old Testament history is more fundamental than that of the manner in which the conquest of Canaan was effected by the Hebrew tribes. If they came unitedly, there is a possibility that they were united in the desert and in Egypt. If their invasions were separated by wide intervals of time, there is no probability that they were united in their earlier history. Our estimate of the Patriarchal and the Mosaic traditions is thus conditioned upon the answer that we give to this question. The purpose of this paper is not to solve this problem, but only to exhibit its elements in their logical relation, in the hope that thus the direction may be shown in which a solution is to be sought.

### I. The Biblical Sources for the History of the Conquest.

a. *The Book of Joshua*.—It is now generally recognized that the Book of Joshua is composed out of the same four elements that we find in the Pentateuch, namely, J, E, D and P. These four documents agree that the twelve tribes entered Canaan together from the east, under the command of Joshua, and that he defeated the coalitions of Canaanite kings both in the south and in the north.

D and P add that he captured all the cities of the land (Jos. 10 28-43; 11 10-12. 23), and gave these cities to the tribes of

Israel (Jos. 13—22). J and E record no such extensive conquests, and in a number of passages J asserts that cities were not conquered which D and P claim were taken by Joshua; e. g. Jerusalem (Jos. 12 1, 10; 15 63), Gezer (10 33 D; 12 12 D; 21 21 P; 16 10 J), Taanach and Megiddo (12 21 D; 21 25 P; 17 11-18 J). J also says that several cities were taken by other persons than Joshua; e. g. Hebron by Caleb (15 13 f. J; 10 36 f.; 11 21 a D), Debir by Othniel (15 15-17 J; 10 38 f.; 11 21 b; 12 13 a D), the Highland of Israel by the tribe of Joseph (17 14-18 J; cf. 11 16-20 D; 12 18-24 D; 15 4-8 P).

J and E also agree that the Canaanites were not annihilated, as represented by D and P (10 40; 11 19 f.). In 13 1b. 13; 15 63; 16 10; 17 12 f.; Jud. 2 23; 3 5, J tells us that the Canaanites "dwell in the midst of Israel unto this day," and in the legislation of J (Ex. 34 11-13) it is assumed that they are still a menace. E also says of the Canaanites, "I will not drive them out before thee in one year, lest the land become desolate, and the beast of the field multiply against thee; by little and little I will drive them out from before thee" (Ex. 23 29 f.; cf. Jud. 3 4 E).

b. *The first chapter of Judges.*—The first chapter of the Book of Judges gives another account of the conquest. This does not mention Joshua; it represents the tribes as conquering their territories separately, or at most in pairs, and it does not regard the Canaanites as exterminated, but as retaining all the important cities.

Various theories have been formed to harmonize this narrative with the Book of Joshua:

1. *The theory that Jud. 1 follows Jos.*—This is the view of Augustine, RaSHI, RaLBaG and most of the older commentators, and in modern times of Bachmann, Ewald, Bertheau, Cassel, Keil, König, Blaikie and McCurdy. According to it, Joshua conquered the land in the decisive battles of Gibeon and the Waters of Merom, then divided it by lot, and left it to the individual tribes to complete the conquest as narrated in Jud. 1.

This theory depends upon the introductory words in Jud. 1 1 a, "and it came to pass after the death of Joshua," but this clause is certainly an editorial addition (cf. Ex. 1 1; Lev. 1 1; Num. 1 1;

I Sam. 11; I Ki. 11, all of which begin with an "and," designed to link the Law and the Former Prophets in a consecutive narrative). The death of Joshua is not narrated by Jud. until 28, and the events recorded in Jud. 1 do not follow the death of Joshua. When in vv. 1b-2 the children of Israel inquire, "Who shall go up first to fight against the Canaanites?" and Yahweh replies, "Judah shall go up first," this is evidently the beginning of the invasion of Canaan, not an expedition by Judah after the united tribes have conquered the land. If Jud. 1 follows Jos., we shall have to assume that the hosts of Canaanites annihilated by Joshua came to life again, like the dry bones in the vision of Ezekiel, so that the tribes of Israel had to destroy them and their towns all over again.

2. *The theory that Jud. 1 precedes Jos.*—Toffteen supposes that when Israel revolted against Moses at Kadesh (Nu. 14:39-43), the nation was divided into two hostile camps that remained separate for forty years. Parts of the tribes mentioned in Jud. 1 joined the revolt, and parts of these same tribes remained with Moses. The rebels then invaded Canaan as recorded in Jud. 1. Meanwhile the fragments of the tribes that were left with Moses wandered forty years in the desert, and subsequently invaded the land from the east under Joshua and completed the conquest.

The objections to this view are, that it makes Joshua conquer over again the cities that had already been taken by the individual tribes, and that it assumes a permanent division of the tribes at Kadesh. If only half-tribes remained with Moses, and if Joshua found the other half-tribes already settled in Canaan, we should expect some hint of these facts elsewhere. This splitting of the tribes is so contrary to Semitic conceptions of tribal unity and loyalty as to be most improbable.

Against both of the theories that have just been mentioned is the fact that Jud. 1 and Jos. are so similar in their main features that they must be regarded as parallel accounts of the conquest. Jud. 11 assumes that the Hebrews were together before the invasion, evidently in the east of Canaan, since the first attack is directed against the king of Jerusalem (vv. 4-7), and the subsequent campaigns proceed first southward and then

northward (vv. 1 ff. 22 ff.). With this corresponds Jos. 1—2. Jud. 1 16 makes Judah go up out of the City of Palms (Jericho; cf. 2 1a. 5b, where the angel of Yahweh goes up from Gilgal). With this corresponds the crossing of the Jordan and the capture of Jericho (Jos. 3—6).

Judah and Simeon then fight with Adoni-Bezeq (Jud. 1 5), who seems to be the king of Jerusalem, because after his defeat and mutilation he returns to Jerusalem to die (v. 7), and because he is powerful enough to have seventy kings gather their food under his table (v. 7; cf. the position of the king of Jerusalem in the Amarna Letters). With this corresponds Joshua's expedition against Adoni-Sedeq, king of Jerusalem (Jos. 10). The parallelism of the narratives in all other details compels us to identify these campaigns, Adoni-Sedeq and Adoni-Bezeq seem to be merely textual variants. The various recensions of the Greek read Adoni-Bezeq in Jos. Bezeq appears as a divine name in the place-name Qîr-Bezeq in a list of Ramses III (Müller, *Eg. Res.* p. 49) and Bezeq (I Sam. 11 8). In view of the rarity of Adoni-Bezeq and its attestation by the Greek in Jos., this seems to be the correct reading in both places. Adoni-Bezeq is defeated in Bezeq. The only Bezeq known to us is the modern Ibziq, 14 miles N.E. of Shechem (Nâblus). This is not a natural place for a battle with a king of Jerusalem. We must either assume that there was another Bezeq near Jerusalem or, more probably, that Bezeq is a textual error induced by the name of the king Adoni-Bezeq. It is a plausible conjecture that בֶזֶק (Bezeq) is a corruption of גִּבְעֹן (Gibeon), the scene of the battle in Jos. 10 and in the ancient song Jos. 10 12.

The campaign against Adoni-Bezeq (Sedeq) is followed in Jud. 1 8-21 by a southward movement of Judah and Simeon through which they gained the Highland of Judah and the Negeb. With this corresponds Joshua's conquest of the same regions (Jos. 10 29-42). Jud. 1 22-36 then describes the conquests of the northern tribes, proceeding from south to north. With this corresponds Joshua's victory over the northern coalition of Canaanites (Jos. 11).

In the account of the distribution of the land (Jos. 13—18)

a number of verses of Jud. 1 are repeated verbatim. These parallel verses are as follows: Jud. 1 10. 20 = Jos. 15 13f.; Jud. 1 11-13 = Jos. 15 15-17; Jud. 1 14-15 = Jos. 15 18-19; Jud. 1 21 = Jos. 15 63; Jud. 1 27-28 = Jos. 17 11-13; Jud. 1 29 = Jos. 16 10. Those who hold that Jud. 1 follows Jos. are obliged to regard these parallel verses in Jos. as anticipations of the events recorded later in Jud. 1. This is an unnatural hypothesis. The real reason why they are inserted at this point is that the editor of Jos. regarded them as chronologically parallel to the material that he was using. A comparison of the two histories indicates, accordingly, that Jos. is only a variant and more elaborate version of the same conquest that is described in Jud. 1.

3. *The theory that Jud. 1 is a recapitulation of Jos.* — Recognizing that Jud. 1 is parallel to Jos., Hengstenberg, Ziegler, Bleek, Preiss and others have regarded it as a brief summary of Jos. This view derives some support from the fact just noted that a number of passages in Jos. are duplicated in Jud. 1, but it breaks down in view of the numerous differences between the two histories. It would be a strange recapitulation of the Book of Joshua that left Joshua himself out of account, and that summarized his annihilation of the Canaanites by reports of the failure of the tribes to capture the important cities. Jud. 1 is evidently written in complete ignorance of Jos.

4. *The theory that Jud. 1 is supplementary to Jos.* — Ottley thinks that the twelve tribes kept together under the leadership of Joshua until after the defeat of Adoni-Şedeq, king of Jerusalem (Jos. 10). Then Judah and Simeon seceded, and moved southward to fight Adoni-Bezeq, king of Jerusalem (Jud. 1 1-7). Afterwards Joshua with the rest of the tribes invaded the north country (Jos. 11—14; Jud. 1 22-36). The difficulty with this theory is that it distinguishes Adoni-Şedeq and Adoni-Bezeq, and thus makes it necessary for Judah and Simeon to fight a king of Jerusalem immediately after a king of Jerusalem has been routed by Joshua. It also makes Judah and Simeon conquer their own territories, whereas, according to Jos. 10, this was done by Joshua; and it makes these tribes gain their inheritances before these were assigned to them by lot according to Jos. 15.

Wade thinks that the twelve tribes held together until after the attack on Ai (Jos. 7), and that then Judah and Simeon seceded through dissatisfaction with the execution of Achan of the tribe of Judah (Jos. 7). Judah and Simeon then fought Adoni-Bezeq, king of Jerusalem; and subsequently Joshua and the rest of the tribes fought Adoni-Şedeq, king of Jerusalem. This view is open to all the objections that have been urged against the previous one, and has no additional argument in its favor.

Kittel holds that the tribes were united only until the conquest of Jericho (Jos. 6). Afterwards Judah went up to Gilgal to fight Adoni-Bezeq, king of Jerusalem, and Joshua went up later with the tribe of Joseph to fight Adoni-Şedeq, king of Jerusalem, whom Kittel regards as a successor of Adoni-Bezeq. The mention of Hebron and Debir as allies of Adoni-Şedeq (Jos. 10 3.38) he regards as an erroneous interpolation in the tradition, since these cities had been previously taken by Judah (Jud. 1 10-18.20). This is most unnatural. The parallelism in all details between Judah's conquest of the south in Jud. 1 and Joshua's conquest of the south in Jos. 10 shows that one narrative does not precede the other but is a substitute for it.

These theories that make the tribes act together up to a certain point, and then separate, are artificial. If the tribes had been united by Moses and Joshua, it is not likely that they would have separated after the conquest of Jericho, or of Ai, or after the battle of Gibeon, when the greatest perils still menaced them. That is much the same as if the states of Germany had united in the war against France until after the battle of Weissenburg, and then had parted to conquer the land separately. The variety of theories proposed to harmonize Jud. 1 and Jos. shows that they cannot be combined in any natural way.

5. *The theory that Jud. 1 is contradictory to Jos.* — Wellhausen, Kuenen, Meyer, Stade, Guthe, Budde, Moore, Nowack, Baudissin, H. P. Smith, Bennett, Cornill, Driver, G. A. Smith, Gemoll, and the majority of recent critics give up the effort to combine Jud. 1 with Jos., and regard it as an independent and contradictory account of the conquest. In this case it is ne-

cessary to determine the relative historical values of the two narratives.

There is general agreement that Jud. 1 is more reliable than Jos. for the following reasons: 1. There is no trace in later history of such a union of the tribes as the documents in Jos. assume. In the Song of Deborah (Jud. 5), Deborah, in the face of mortal danger, is able to get volunteers only from Ephraim, Benjamin, Machir, Zebulon, Issachar and Naphtali, i. e., the northern tribes who were directly menaced by Sisera. Reuben, Gilead, Dan, and Asher will not come, and Judah, Simeon, and Levi are not even invited. Throughout the Book of Judges, apart from editorial passages, the Judges appear as tribal leaders only, and the tribes are often at war with one another (Jud. 3 27; 6 34f.; 8 1; 9 6; 11 8; 12 4-6; 15 11f.). David and Solomon by force of arms held the tribes together for a while, but after Solomon's death they immediately fell apart.

2. The capture of the strongholds of Canaan by Joshua, according to D and P in Jos., is unhistorical in comparison with the statements of Jud. 1 and J in Jos. that the Israelites were unable to drive out the Canaanites. Jerusalem was not taken until the time of David (II Sam. 5 6-9; cf. Jud. 19 12; against Jos. 12 10). The Canaanites were not expelled from Gezer until the time of Solomon (I Ki. 9 16; cf. Jud. 1 29; against Jos. 12 12). Beth-shan remained in the hands of the Philistines until the time of David (I Sam. 31 10; cf. Jud. 1 27). Taanach and Megiddo were still Canaanite in the time of Deborah (Jud. 5 19; cf. 1 27; against Jos. 12 21; 21 25). Shechem was still a Canaanite city in the time of Abimelech (Jud. 9 28; cf. Gen. 34 2).

3. The older histories agree that the Canaanites were not exterminated, as D and P in Jos. record, but that they continued to dwell in the midst of Israel, as narrated in Jud. 1 and J in Jos. (cf. Jud. 3 1-6; II Sam. 24 7; I Ki. 9 20-21). The prohibitions of marriage with the Canaanites and of worship of their gods that continue down to Deuteronomy (Ex. 23 24, 32f.; 34 11-13; Deut. 7 1-5, 22) show that the Canaanites lived among the Israelites long after the conquest. Only thus can we explain the Canaanizing of the religion of Israel that the Prophets denounce.

It appears thus that in every particular the narrative of Jud. 1 is more credible than that of Jos. It must be made the basis of our conception of Israel's conquest of Canaan.

There is general agreement that Jud. 1 and the identical verses in Jos. 15—17 contain the earliest form of J's account of the conquest, and that the J sections in Jos. 1—11 which represent the tribes as united under the command of Joshua form a secondary stratum in the J document that approximates to the standpoint of D. These sections show more legendary embellishment than is found in J's narrative in Num. of the conquests east of the Jordan, and it is probable, therefore, that they are of later origin.

c. *The narratives of conquests in the Book of Numbers.* — In Num. 14 J, E and P narrate how Moses sent spies into Canaan from Kadesh-Barnea on the southern frontier, how their report so terrified the Hebrews that they refused to invade the land, and how they were sentenced to die in the desert. In Num. 14 39b-45 (J, Addis, Gray; E, Bacon, Meyer; JE, Baentsch, Carpenter) we read how, in spite of Moses' prohibition, they invaded southern Canaan, and were defeated by the Amalekites and Canaanites, and pursued as far as Ḥormah. The story is repeated in Deut. 1 41-44 with verbal dependence upon Numbers, but here "Amorites" is substituted for "Amalekites and Canaanites", and the defeat is said to have been "in Se'ir (Gr. from Se'ir) even unto Ḥormah."

Hormah is mentioned frequently as a city of the extreme south (Jos. 12 14; 15 30; 19 4; I Sam. 30 30; I Chr. 4 30). It does not survive in any modern name, but in Jud. 1 17 its original name is said to have been Sephath. Sephath is commonly identified with Sebaita, 22 mi. NNE. from Kadesh ('Ain Kadis) but this is philologically unsound. It is better with Robinson to identify it with the mountain ridge es-Ṣafā, about 40 mi. NE. of Kadesh. The Se'ir of Deut. 1 44 will then be es-Se'er N. of the Wādy Fikreh:

Nu. 21 1-3 (J) has nothing to do with its present context. It describes a successful northward movement of Israel into Canaan, while the context describes a southward movement from Kadesh. These verses are evidently the continuation of J's

account of the defeat at Hormah in Nu. 14 45. V. 1 states that some Israelites were taken prisoners by the Canaanites; v. 2, that Israel vowed to devote the Canaanite cities to destruction, and v. 3, that they captured them, destroyed them, and called the region Hormah. The two narratives join on naturally to one another, and the mention of Hormah in both shows that they form a connected series of events.

In Jud. 1 16-17 we find a duplicate to this narrative in Num. It mentions an attack on the Amalekites and Canaanites in the South, as does Num. 14 45. The wilderness of 'Arad (v. 16) lies just north of Hormah, around the modern Tell 'Arad. The invasion ends in the destruction of the Canaanite cities and the giving of the name Hormah, just as in Num. 21 3. The Kenites, Judah and Simeon make the attack in Jud. 1 16f.; in Num. 21 1ff. the general name Israel is used. In Jud. Sephath receives the name Hormah, while in Num. 'Arad apparently receives this name. The two places cannot be identified (cf. Jos. 12 14). It seems probable, however, that the words "the king of 'Arad" are a gloss in Num. 21 1, because the personal title is strange after the general name "the Canaanite," because in the following verses only the Canaanites are mentioned, and because these words are redundant before the following clause "who dwelt in the Negeb" (so Moore, Gray). In this case the difference vanishes. Even if "the king of Arad" be retained, there is no real difficulty in v. 3, for "place" may mean "district" as well as "city" and Hormah is used as the name of a district in Num. 14 45 and Deut. 1 44.

As to the relation of these two narratives, Bachmann and Cassel hold that they refer to different events. Sephath was first destroyed by Moses, but was subsequently rebuilt and again destroyed by Judah and Simeon after Joshua's conquests. This is very unlikely. A place that had been subjected to the *herem*, or "ban," would not recover so easily. Palmer thinks that Num. 21 3 is an anticipation of Jud. 1 17, i. e., Israel vowed to devote Sephath in the days of Moses, but the vow was not fulfilled until over forty years later after Joshua's conquest. This is very unnatural. There is nothing in the passage that suggests that a long interval lies between vv. 2 and 3.

Moore thinks that Hormah meant originally "sanctuary" (cf. Hermon, Horem), and that the connection with *herem*, "ban," is a fanciful etymology. In this case we have merely different explanations of a name. Granted, however, that the etymology is fanciful, it could not have arisen unless Israel had executed the *herem* on this region; and from the nature of the case that could not have happened twice. Accordingly, the great majority of critics hold that Num. 21:1-3 and Jud. 1:16f. are parallel accounts of the same event (so Studer, Ewald, Knobel, Bertheau, Dillmann, Wellhausen, Meyer, Kittel, Steuernagel, Bacon, Burney).

These two narratives, while agreeing in other particulars, differ fundamentally as to the manner of the entrance of the Hebrew tribes into Canaan. Num. 14:44f. + 21:1-3 brings them up from Kadesh in the south, while Jud. 1:16f. brings them in from the east. Steuernagel, Schiele, and H. P. Smith attempt to harmonize them by claiming that J had no account of the stay east of the Jordan, and that the "City of Palms" in Jud. 1:16 is not Jericho but Tamar, "Palm," in southern Judah; but, as Budde and Meyer show, the list of stations in Num. 21:18-20, the Balaam story, and the death of Moses in the land of Moab, belong certainly to J; and in Jud. 1 the conquest proceeds from the east. Jud. 1:1 assumes that the tribes are together, apparently at Gilgal, since in 2:1a.5b (J) the angel of Yahweh goes up from Gilgal to Bochim (Bethel). The king of Jerusalem in the center of the land is attacked first (Jud. 1:4-7), and the conquest then proceeds southward and northward from this center. There is no reason, accordingly, why the "City of Palms" in Jud. 1:16 should not have the usual meaning "Jericho" (Deut. 34:3; II Chr. 28:15; Jud. 3:13). It is clear, therefore, that the main strand of J to which Jud. 1 belongs assumes that the tribes entered Canaan together from the east.

Kittel attempts to solve the discrepancy by omitting the words "with the children of Judah" in Jud. 1:16, and the words "and Judah went with Simeon his brother" in v. 17; the invasion from the south then refers to the Kenites only. In justification of this emendation he points out that Judah was settled farther north than Sephath, and that it did not capture Hebron

or Debir; it is doubtful, therefore, whether it penetrated so far south as Sephath. This argument assumes the correctness of Jud. 1, which makes the conquests of Judah proceed from north to south. If Judah and Simeon came in from the south, as Num. relates, then there is no difficulty in supposing that they conquered Sephath with the Kenites before they moved up into their later abodes. It is manifestly unfair to emend the text on no other basis than the foregone conclusion that Judah and Simeon entered Canaan from the east.

We find here, accordingly, conflicting traditions. The main stock of J brings all the tribes into Canaan from the east; the unrelated fragments that J has incorporated in Num. 14:4-6 and Num. 21:1-3 bring some of them in from the south. We must choose between these conceptions.

Wellhausen, Guthe, Kittel, Benzinger, Cornill, Matthes, Kent, Peters, prefer the tradition in Jud. 1; but there is much in favor of the correctness of the narrative of Num. If Judah and Simeon conquered their territories independently, as Jud. 1 relates, it is improbable that they were united with the other tribes as far as Gilgal. If such a union had existed, it would not have been dissolved on the border of Canaan, when the hardest fighting remained still to be done. The account of Num. which makes part of Israel invade Canaan from Kadesh furnishes a much more natural introduction to the separate conquests by Judah, Simeon, Caleb, Othniel and the Kenites in Jud. 1 than does the present context in J. Sephath is only about 40 miles distant from Kadesh. It is more probable that it was conquered directly from Kadesh, as Num. relates, than by the circuitous route around the land of Edom, by way of Gilgal, Jericho and Jerusalem, as Jud. 1 assumes. In the time of David Judah lived far north of Sephath. If Jud. 1 is correct, we must suppose that this tribe conquered southward as far as Sephath; and then, for some unknown reason, returned to the north. If Num. is correct, then the capture of Sephath was merely an incident in the northward movement of Judah from Kadesh to its later seat. The separation of Judah from the northern tribes down to the period of the monarchy by Jerusalem and a belt of Canaanite towns in the center of the

land is more easily explained, if the two main divisions of Israel invaded Canaan from opposite sides and failed to make connection, than if they entered the land together.

This view is strengthened by the consideration that the clan of Caleb, which Jud. 1 10f. 20 couples with Judah, seems to have invaded Canaan from the south. In Jud. 1 13 Caleb is called the son of Kenaz, and in Jos. 14 6. 14; Num. 32 12, the Kenizzite. Jos. 15 13 suggests that the clan was of non-Israelitish origin by saying that Caleb received a portion "in the midst of the children of Judah." In Gen. 36 11. 15. 42 Kenaz appears as an Edomite family. In this case it is more likely that Caleb invaded Canaan from the south than from the east, since Kadesh was on the border of Edom (Num. 20 16 E). This view is favored by the story of the spies in Num. 13. In J Caleb alone is mentioned as the one sent from Kadesh to explore the south of Canaan. He encourages the people to go up (13 30), and he alone is promised an inheritance in the land (Num. 14 24; Deut. 1 36). This seems to be a reminiscence of the fact that the clan of Caleb entered Canaan from Kadesh. This view is confirmed by the fact that in Num. 13 22 (J) Caleb finds the three sons of Anak, Ahiman, Sheshai, and Talmai at Hebron when he goes to spy out the land, and the same three personages again when he conquers Hebron (Jud. 1 10. 20b = Jos. 15 14). This shows that in the thought of the original J document there was no long interval between Caleb's spying out of Hebron and his conquest of it, that is, Caleb's conquest was made from Kadesh, just as his tour of exploration. The union of Caleb with Judah is commonly assigned to the time of David, but there is no evidence for this view, and David's choice of Hebron as his capital suggests a much earlier incorporation. The genealogies of Judah also contain many Calebite and Edomite names.

It appears, accordingly, that the tradition in Num. that makes the southern tribes enter Canaan from Kadesh is more probable than the tradition in Jos. and Jud. 1 which makes them enter from the east (so Kuenen, Meyer, H. P. Smith, Steuernagel, Cook, Baentsch, Burney, Gressmann, Asmussen, Schiele, Segond). When under David and Solomon the tribes were united into one nation, it was supposed that their forefathers

were similarly united; consequently the writer of the main stock of J harmonized the tradition of the Southern tribes with that of the Northern tribes by bringing all the tribes first to Kadesh, and then around Edom (Num. 20:14-21) to invade the land from the east. He still preserved the memory, however, that the tribes had conquered their territories independently. The next step was taken by the Judean writer in Jos., who made the tribes conquer the land unitedly under the leadership of Joshua, but who did not represent the conquest as complete. The final step in the evolution of the tradition was taken by D in Jos. who represented the land as completely conquered by Joshua, and the Canaanites as entirely destroyed.

d. *The conquest by the Danites in Jud. 18.*—In Jud. 18 the J document narrates how the Danites migrated and captured the city of Laish near the source of the Jordan, which they renamed Dan. In Jos. 19:47 we find a briefer account of the same migration, and in Jud. 1:34 we read, “The Amorites forced the children of Dan into the Highland, for they would not allow them to descend into the Maritime Plain.” There is general agreement that this verse refers to the same period as Jud. 18 and Jos. 19:47.

e. *The war with Sisera (Jud. 4—5).*—Jud. 4 and 5 contain independent accounts of a war with the Canaanites under the leadership of Sisera; the former is from E, the latter from J. In 4:2, 7, 17, 24 Sisera is called “the general of Jabin, king of Hazor.” Jabin was the king with whom Joshua fought (Jos. 11), and this has led a number of critics to suppose that Deborah was a contemporary of Joshua. Jabin is not mentioned, however, in the Song of Deborah (Jud. 5), and Sisera appears there as the king (vv. 19, 20, 28-30). In chapter 4 also Sisera is the chief figure. Most critics, accordingly, are of the opinion that the combination of Jabin with Sisera in Jud. 4 is the work of the Deuteronomic editor. The position of the tribes in the Song of Deborah indicates a later time than that described in Jud. 1.

f. *The genealogies in Chronicles.*—In I Chr. 2 we find a number of fragments of genealogies that refer to early migrations of Caleb. In 2:18 we are told that Caleb's first wives were

'Azubah, "the desert," and Jerioth, "tents"; or perhaps we should read, "'Azubah, daughter of Jerioth." In either case there is an illusion to the primitive nomadic life of Caleb. Caleb's "sons" by 'Azubah were Jesher, Shobab, and Ardon (v. 18) which seem to be localities in the extreme south of Judah. In 242-45 other "sons" of Caleb are mentioned namely, Ziph, Maresha, Hebron, and other towns in central Judea. In 219f. 50-54 Caleb takes Ephrath as wife, and her children are Kirjath-jearim, Beth-lehem, Beth-gader and other towns of northern Judah in the district of Ephrath. Here we have a migration of Caleb from the southern desert into northern Judea that corresponds to Num. 13 22; Jud. 1 10.20b and Jos. 15 14.

In like manner the genealogy of Jerahmeel in I Chr. 2 25-44 seems to preserve a memory of the migration of this tribe (cf. I Sam. 27 10; 30 29).

The genealogy of Simeon contains a curious record, not found elsewhere in the Old Testament (I Chr. 4 39-43), which tells how the Simeonites invaded Gedor (Gerar), smote the Me'unim (Minaeans), and settled in Mount Seir (cf. Deut. 1 44 = Num. 14 45). Simeon had already disappeared by the time of the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33), about 800 B.C.; these conquests, accordingly, must belong to an early period. It is possible that here we have a reminiscence of the first conquests by Simeon in the extreme south. All these fragments of genealogies favor the theory that the southern tribes entered Canaan from Kadesh.

g. *The Patriarchal stories in Genesis.* — The Book of Genesis contains several accounts of Hebrew settlements in Canaan. It is important that we should determine the relation of these to the narratives of Jos. and Jud.

1. *The sons of Israel* (Gen. 32—38).—Traditionally these have been supposed to be the individual ancestors of the Hebrews, but the names are used tribally in other books of the Old Testament, and all that is said about them here demands a tribal interpretation. When in Gen. 34 25 we read, "Simeon and Levi, Dinah's brothers, took each man his sword, and came upon the city unawares, and slew all the males," there is no difference from Jud. 1 3, "And Judah said unto Simeon his

brother, Come up with me into my lot, that we may fight against the Canaanites." In the Blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49) there is not one statement that can naturally be referred to the individual sons of Jacob. Of Simeon and Levi it is said, "I will divide them in Jacob and scatter them in Israel" (v. 7), "Zebulon dwells at the haven of the sea" (v. 13), "May Dan judge his people as one of the tribes of Israel" (v. 16).

Kittel, König and Burney admit that these stories must be given a tribal interpretation, but insist that they belong to an earlier age than the narratives in Jos. and Jud. All that can be said in favor of this view is that there are some episodes in Gen. that are not found in Jos. and Jud.

Against this theory is the parallelism of these stories of Gen. with the narratives of Num., Jos., and Jud. 1. When Jacob wishes to enter Canaan, he fears his brother Esau, and sends ambassadors to him (Gen. 32 3—33 16); so Israel sends ambassadors to Edom, and goes around its territory (Num. 20 14-22). Jacob enters Canaan from the east (Gen. 32—33); so also Israel, according to Jos. and Jud. 1. Jacob comes to Shalem (Gen. 33 18a), so Judah and Simeon first encounter the king of Jerusalem (Jud. 1 4-7). Simeon and Levi attack the people of Shechem (Gen. 34), so Simeon and Judah go up first against the Canaanites (Jud. 1 8). Because of the treacherous attack on Shechem, Simeon and Levi are cursed to be scattered in Israel (Gen. 49 7), so in Jud. 1 3. 17 Simeon is attached to Judah, and in Jos. 19 1. 9 receives his inheritance "in the midst of the children of Judah." Levi is not mentioned in Jud. 1, and in Jud. 17 1f.; 19 1 the Levites appear as wanderers without tribal inheritance. Simeon and Levi are not mentioned in the Song of Deborah, in the lists of southern clans I Sam. 27 10; 30 26-31, in the "Blessing of Moses" (Deut. 33), nor in the Books of Samuel and Kings. Jacob goes up to Bethel and builds an altar there (Gen. 35 6f.), so the tribe of Joseph captures Bethel (Jud. 1 22-26) and offers sacrifice there (Jud. 2 1a. 5b).

The "oak of weeping" is named at Bethel (Gen. 35 8), so Bethel is called Bochim, "Weeping" (Jud. 2 5). At Shechem Jacob bids his people to put away their idols (Gen. 35 2-4); so Joshua holds an assembly at Shechem, in which he adjures the

people to forsake the strange gods (Jos. 24). Judah separates from his brethren and goes down into the South, where he establishes relations with the Canaanites (Gen. 38); so Judah moves southward (Jud. 1 *et seq.*). Simeon marries a Canaanite woman (Gen. 46 10), and the Book of Jubilees which preserves many a fragment of ancient tradition says (44 13) that Simeon's wife was a woman of Sephath; so Simeon captures Sephath (Jud. 1 17).

The order of birth of the sons of Israel in Gen. is the order in which, according to the later narratives of the Hexateuch, the tribes of Israel settled in Canaan. Reuben is the firstborn (Gen. 29 32; 49 3), because this tribe first occupied the region east of the Jordan (Num. 32). Simeon, Levi, and Judah come next, because they were the first to invade the land west of the Jordan (Jud. 1 *et seq.*). Joseph is last, because his settlement was the latest (Jud. 1 22 *et seq.*). Benjamin, "the son of the south," alone of all the sons of Israel, is born in the land of Canaan (Gen. 35 18). This indicates that this tribe originated after the conquest as an offshoot from the Rachel tribes, and this view is confirmed by the fact that Benjamin is not mentioned among the tribes that invaded Canaan in Jud. 1 (the correct text of Jud. 1 21 is preserved in Jos. 15 63), although it was already in existence in the time of Deborah (Jud. 5 14).

In view of this parallelism it seems impossible to deny that the stories of Israel and his sons in Gen. refer to the same events that are narrated in Jos. and Jud. 1. This conclusion is not shaken by the fact that some incidents are found in Gen. that are not found in Jos. and Jud. 1. Levi is associated with Simeon in Gen. 34, but not in Jud. 1; we know, however, that Levi belonged originally to the southern group of tribes (Jud. 17 7, 19 1) and the genealogies of Levi contain many names that indicate residence in the South (Cook, *Notes*, p. 86). The attack of Simeon and Levi on Shechem is not found in Jos. or Jud. 1, but the scattering of these tribes that was a result of this expedition is attested in the period of the Judges. Reuben's violation of Bilhah (Gen. 35 22; 49 4) must refer to conquests of the tribe of Reuben west of the Jordan. These are not narrated in Jos. or Jud. 1; but in Jos. 15 6; 18 17 mention is made of the "stone of Bohan the son of Reuben," which indicates that

Reuben once gained a foothold west of the Jordan. These differences from Jos. and Jud. 1 are not a sufficient reason for assigning the stories of the sons of Jacob to a different period from the stories of the conquest (so Kuenen, Wellhausen, Meyer, Budde, P. H. Smith, Cook).

*2. Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob and their wives.*—The traditional view among Jews and Christians has been that these Patriarchs were the individual forefathers of Israel. The difficulties with this view are, first, that no such small group of persons could have penetrated Canaan successfully and have maintained itself there under the warlike conditions depicted in the Egyptian inscriptions and the Amarna letters. Second, history shows that tribes and nations do not arise by natural descent from single ancestors, but that common ancestry is a legal fiction designed to bind heterogeneous races together. Third, in the genealogies of Gen. the names of the Patriarchs are mingled with names that are certainly tribal in their meaning. Fourth, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Israel, appear in the later books of the Old Testament as names for the nation. Fifth, many of the stories about these Patriarchs admit only a tribal interpretation.

These considerations lead many modern critics to hold that, while there may have been individuals named Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, these names were also applied to the clans of which they were leaders. The question then rises, To what period of history did these clans belong?

From the fact that they appear in the Book of Genesis as forefathers of the tribes of Israel it has commonly been assumed that they were more ancient than the tribes that we meet in Ex.-Jud. Ewald, Delitzsch, Dillmann, Kittel, König, Klostermann, Cornill, Prášek, Proksch, Burney, Ottley, Wade, tell us about an Abraham people that united with a Sarah people, and entered Canaan as early as 2000 B.C. Isaac and Rebekah were later waves of Aramaean migration into which the Abraham and Sara people were absorbed. Jacob was a third wave, and Israel a fourth. Leah and Rachel were smaller tribes that were absorbed by Jacob, or, as Proksch and Kittel think, Leah belonged to Israel and Rachel to Jacob.

The difficulties with this theory are (1) that Israel had no memory of the events of the sojourn in Egypt, and it is improbable that it retained the memory of a still earlier period. (2) No traces of these hypothetical Hebrew tribes survive in the later history of Israel, in the genealogies of the other Old Testament books, or in archaeology. Jacob, Israel, and some of the "sons" of Israel are known to us archaeologically, but Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Rebekah, Leah and Rachel are unknown. (3) Jacob-Israel is not older than his sons. If, as we have just seen, the tribes conquered Canaan separately, there is no probability that the inclusive names Jacob and Israel originated before their unification in Canaan. (4) Leah and Rachel are merely collective names for the two main groups of tribes that entered Canaan from the south and the east respectively. Levi is connected etymologically with Leah, and the children of Leah are the tribes which tradition connects with Kadesh. Haupt's suggestion (*ZATW.* 1909, p. 284) that Leah means "cow" and Rachel means "sheep"; and that the "sons of Leah" are the "cowboys," and the "sons of Rachel" the "shepherds," is plausible, and points to conditions that existed after the occupation of Canaan. (5) Zilpah and Bilhah, the mothers of four of the later tribes of Israel, are regarded as concubines, which shows that these tribes were of alien origin. This is more easily explained as an absorption of Canaanite, or earlier Hebraic elements, after the conquest than as an absorption of such elements in the desert. Influenced by these considerations Kuenen, Wellhausen, Stade, Meyer, Guthe, Cook, H. P. Smith, Winckler, Cheyne, Kent, Budde, hold that the traditions of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob originated after the conquest.

In the case of Jacob and Esau it is obvious that they reflect the history of the nations of Israel and Edom down into the period of the monarchy. Gen. 25 23 refers to David's conquest of Edom (I Chr. 18 12). Gen. 27 40 refers to the successful revolt of Edom (II Ki. 8 22). It is probable also that Jacob's dealings with Esau refer to the relations between Israel and the Aramaeans of Damascus in the period of the kings. It appears accordingly, as Wellhausen says, that Jacob is younger than his sons, i. e., the traditions concerning united Israel did not

arise until the originally independent tribes were welded into a nation.

Following out this idea, Wellhausen attempts to show that Abraham and Isaac also personify the national history of Israel. Abraham, like Israel, is a stranger in Canaan, who derives his title from the gift of Yahweh. He waits many years before the promise of a numerous posterity begins to realize itself. He does not take possession of his heritage at once, but lives in faith of a future ownership. Isaac is a child of his father's old age, just as Israel is the last-born of a group of nations. He comes near to losing his life in childhood, just as Israel runs the risk of extinction soon after the occupation of Canaan. He loves peace, just as Israel cherishes the ideal of "dwelling each under his own vine and fig-tree with none to disturb."

These parallels to the history of Israel are not very striking, and there is a lack of specific allusions to late events. Accordingly, in the cases of Abraham and Isaac the theory of personification of the nation of Israel is not wholly satisfactory.

It seems more likely that we have here traditions borrowed from the Canaanites, for the following reasons:—(1) The Canaanites were not exterminated, but they dwelt in the midst of Israel and eventually mingled with the Israelites. In this process Canaanite traditions must have been learned by the Hebrews and blended with their own traditions. This has actually happened in the case of the Babylonian traditions of Gen. 1—11, which must have come to Israel by way of the Canaanites. It would be surprising, if some of the Patriarchal traditions did not come from the same source.

(2) The traditions of Abraham and Isaac, and some of the traditions of Jacob, bear marks of this origin in the fact that they are designed to explain the origin of the holy trees, holy stones, altars, and sepulchers of the land of Canaan. These were ancient sanctuaries that were in existence long before the arrival of the Hebrews, and they were adopted by Israel after the conquest, as we know from the later historical books. The Patriarchs, who are connected with these sanctuaries must have belonged originally to Canaanite tradition, and have been adopted later by Israel.

(3) Eerdmans (*Erpos.* 1908, p. 118) has called attention to the fact that the Patriarchs often appear as Fellâlîn rather than as Bedawîn, e. g., Isaac sows and reaps (Gen. 26:12); and from this fact he draws the conclusion that the agricultural legislation of the Pentateuch was adapted to the life of Israel before the conquest. A juster conclusion would be, that the Patriarchs were not the heroes of a nomadic people like Israel, but of an agricultural people like the Canaanites.

(4) Our documents agree that Israel belonged to the Aramaean race. The testimony of archaeology is that this race did not migrate out of the desert before 1500 B.C. But there are some elements in the patriarchal tradition that point to a higher antiquity. In Gen. 14:1 Abram is a contemporary of 'Amraphel, who is generally conceded to be the same as Hammurabi, king of Babylon, who reigned 1958—1916 B.C. The name Abram was not in use in ancient Israel, but it was common in Babylonia during the Amorite period. This suggests that Abram belongs to the Canaanite rather than the Hebrew strand of tradition. In like manner Jacob appears in contract-tablets of the Hammurabi period, and in Egypt during the Hyksos period, but it was not used as a personal name by Israel.

(5) Gen. 11:31 represents Abram as migrating from Ur of the Chaldees. This is quite irreconcilable with the Aramaean origin of Israel, but accords with the fact that the Amorites settled simultaneously in Babylonia and in Canaan.

(6) The double names borne by so many of the Patriarchs suggest a blending of Canaanite with Hebrew tradition. Abram = Abraham, Lot = Moab and Ammon, Jacob = Israel, Esau = Edom, Joseph = Ephraim and Manasseh. In all these pairs the first name shows an early, pre-Aramaean type, and is monumentally attested before 1500 B.C.; the second name is of a later, Aramaean type. It looks as though the identification of the names were due to a blending of the Hebraic peoples with an earlier population.

These considerations have led Meyer, Guthe, Winckler, Erbt, Peters, and others to the conclusion that Abram, Isaac and Jacob were the heroes of the sanctuaries of Canaan that were adopted by Israel after the conquest. If this be so, the trad-

itions about them throw no light upon the Hebrew conquest, however valuable they may be for reconstructing the history of ancient Canaan.

h. *The narratives of the wandering in the desert.*—The Books of Exodus and Numbers, apart from the passages already considered, contain no direct information in regard to the conquest, but they throw so much indirect light upon it that a consideration of them at this point is unavoidable.

One of the most remarkable features of the story of the wanderings is the inability of the documents to combine the stay at Kadesh with the stay at Sinai. In Ex. 15 25b (E), immediately after the crossing of the Red Sea, there is a fragment that explains the origin of the name Massah. Massah, “testing,” is the same as Meribah, “trying” (Deut. 33 8; Ex. 17 7); and Meribah is identical with Kadesh (Num. 27 14; Deut. 33 2, read “and he came unto Meribath-Kadesh”). After this isolated mention of Kadesh the march to Sinai is resumed, but in 15 4-6 (E) Moses strikes water from the rock, and in v. 7 the spring is called Massah and Meribah. Here we are back at Kadesh again, and the incident is repeated in Num. 20 1-13 (JP). In Ex. 17 8-16 (E) Israel fights with Amalek, but Amalek is the foe encountered at Kadesh (Nu. 14 45). In Ex. 18 (mainly E) Moses appoints judges, but this happened at Kadesh according to Nu. 11 16f. (E).

From these facts Wellhausen, Smend, Meyer, Luther, Cook infer that the Sinai episode in Ex. 19—Num. 10 is a late and unauthentic intrusion in the tradition. According to the original J and E, Israel went straight from Egypt to Kadesh, and remained there until the invasion of Canaan. This is unlikely on account of the prominence of Sinai in the tradition of the exodus. A more natural explanation of the facts is that J and E held different views in regard to the relation of Kadesh and Sinai, and that in the process of composition these views have been confused. In Num. 10 33; 11 35; 12 16 J represents the Israelites as journeying directly from Sinai to Kadesh. Deut. 1 19, which depends on J, makes Kadesh follow Sinai (cf. 33 8), and Deut. knows no earlier visit to Kadesh. E, on the other hand, seems to have placed Kadesh immediately after the crossing of the Red Sea.

E and D make the forty-years wandering follow Kadesh (Num. 14:25 E; Deut. 1:46—2:1), but P omits Kadesh after Hazeroth in the list of stations (Num. 33:17; cf. Num. 12:16 J; Deut. 33:2), and does not insert Kadesh until the end of the forty-years wandering (Num. 33:36, 37; cf. v. 39). J mentions no wandering in the desert, but makes the tribes stay at Kadesh until the generation that came out of Egypt had perished (Num. 14:31).

Kittel, Guthe, Böhnhoff, Jeremias, Benzinger and McNeile attempt to remove the difficulty by assuming that Sinai was situated in the vicinity of Kadesh; but Sinai lay in the land of Midian (Ex. 2:15), and we know of no Midian in the neighborhood of Kadesh. In Num. 10:33; 11:35; 12:16 J narrates that Israel journeyed three days from Sinai, and then three other stages before coming to Kadesh. Horeb also is remote from Kadesh according to E. Ex. 13:17 (E) shows that Israel went from Egypt in an opposite direction to Kadesh, and Deut. 1:2, depending on E, says that it is eleven days journey from Horeb to Kadesh. Horeb in Ex. 17:6 must be a gloss, since, according to the narrative of E, Israel had not yet reached Horeb.

Kadesh is undoubtably 'Ain Kadis on the southern border of Canaan. Sinai is traditionally identified with Jebel Mûsa at the southern end of the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula, and this is still the view of König, Petrie, Duncan, Hoskins; but there is little to be said in favor of this location. The proposed identifications of the stations of the exodus with places in the Sinaitic Peninsula are unconvincing. The tradition that Sinai is Jebel Mûsa cannot be traced back farther than the fourth century of our era. It is improbable that the Hebrews, who were intending to invade Canaan, should have taken the circuitous route around the Sinaitic Peninsula, through an arid region incapable of sustaining a large population, when they might take the easy and natural caravan-route straight across the peninsula to Elâth at the head of the Gulf of 'Aqaba, where there were copious springs. From the time of the first dynasty onward the Sinaitic Peninsula was occupied by garrisons of Egyptian troops that protected the copper-mines. If the Hebrews had gone that way, they would have marched straight into an Egyptian stronghold.

Sinai lay in the land of Midian (Ex. 2 15; 4 19 J), and the only Midian known to history was on the eastern side of the Gulf of 'Aqaba. According to J (Ex. 15 22-24. 27), Israel journeyed three days through the desert of Shur, "the wall," so called from the wall of Egypt that guarded the Isthmus; and came first to Marah, and then to Elîm, where there were twelve springs of water. Elîm is a masculine plural of the same word of which Elâth, or Elôth, is the feminine plural. Elâth, at the head of the Gulf of 'Aqaba, was famous in antiquity for its springs and its palm-trees. The description of Sinai by J in Ex. 19 shows that at the time of the exodus it was an active volcano. The traditional Sinai is not a volcano; but on the other hand, the mountain-chain that skirts the western coast of Arabia is the seat of intense volcanic activity, and eruptions have taken place within historic times. Later allusions to Sinai also indicate that it lay south of Seir, or Edom, e. g., Jud. 5 4; Deut. 33 2; Hab. 3 3. These facts show that we are to look for Sinai in northwestern Arabia east of Elâth (so Beke, Greene, von Gall, Wellhausen, Meyer, Cheyne, Haupt, Cook).

Von Gall and Meyer think that the Horeb of E and D was distinct from Sinai and lay in the traditional location. This opinion is based upon Ex. 13 17 f., where E says that Israel did not go from Egypt "by the way of the land of the Philistines" but "by the way of the wilderness by the Red Sea." This is supposed to show that they followed a route along the shore of the Gulf of Suez, but "Red Sea" means the Gulf of 'Aqaba as well as the Gulf of Suez (e. g., I Ki. 9 26). The "way of the Philistines" means the road that leads to Philistia, i. e., the regular caravan-route along the Mediterranean. The "way of the Red Sea" means naturally the road that leads to the port of Elâth on the Red Sea, the other main caravan-route out of Egypt. If Horeb had lain in the Sinaitic Peninsula, the route to it would have been called "the way of Horeb." E, accordingly, takes us in the same direction as J. Moreover, in Ex. 19 E describes Horeb as a volcano which shows that he has the same mountain in mind as J. The name **תְּבַדֵּל**, "devastator," is probably only an epithet of Sinai derived from its volcanic character.

Accordingly, Sinai-Horeb and Kadesh lay in entirely different regions, so that we are still confronted with the problem of the relation of these places in the tradition of the Exodus. When we remember that our previous investigations have led us to recognize that the Leah tribes invaded Canaan directly from Kadesh, while the Rachel tribes entered from the east, the most natural hypothesis seems to be that the documents of the Pentateuch cannot combine Kadesh and Sinai successfully because these centers belonged originally to different groups of tribes that were independent of one another until after the conquest.

Kadesh is certainly connected with the Leah tribes, since, according to Num. 21:1-3 and the genealogies of Chronicles, these tribes invaded Canaan from the south. Sinai must then belong to the Rachel tribes that conquered their possessions from the east. In the Song of Deborah (Jud. 5:3-5), which belongs to the northern tribes, Yahweh comes from Sinai to help his people, even though the words "that is Sinai" in v. 5 may be a gloss. Elijah also, the prophet of the northern kingdom, seeks Yahweh at Horeb (I Ki. 19:8). In the traditions of the stay at Kadesh we find the Leah tribes specially mentioned, e. g., Reuben and Levi (Num. 16:1; Deut. 33:8), but never Joseph. Joshua, the leader of Ephraim, although inserted by P, is conspicuous by his absence from the story of the sending of the spies from Kadesh in J, E, and D.

It seems, therefore, as if the division of the tribes that we have discovered at the time of the conquest extended backward into the period of the sojourn in the desert. The Leah tribes were at Kadesh; the Rachel tribes were at Sinai, and these two sojourns may have been widely separated in point of time, just as the two conquests of Canaan. After the founding of the monarchy, when the tribes were united into one people, the same tendencies that led them to combine their separate conquests into a single conquest under the leadership of Joshua led them also to combine their separate sojourns in the desert into one sojourn under the leadership of Moses. The various positions that Kadesh occupies in the tradition of the wanderings are due, accordingly, to various attempts to combine the

originally distinct cycles of tradition that clustered about Kadesh and Sinai. This conclusion leads us to inquire whether the division of the Hebrew tribes into two groups may not have extended back still further into the period of the sojourn in Egypt.

i. *The narratives of the sojourn in Egypt.*

1. *Was Israel in Egypt?*—According to J (Gen. 45 10; 46 28; 47 27; Ex. 8 22; 9 26) the Hebrews dwelt in the land of Goshen, and lived there a nomadic life with their flocks and their herds (Gen. 46 32-34; 47 1; 50 8; Ex. 10 9. 24; 12 32. 38). Gen. 46 32 states expressly that they could not enter Egypt proper because they were “shepherds.” The land of Goshen has been certainly identified through the excavations of Naville as the district about the Egyptian town of *G-s-m* on the site of the modern Saft el-Henneh. This region belongs physically to the desert rather than to Egypt, and is occupied today chiefly by nomadic Arabs. It is well adapted to the breeding of sheep and goats. On the other hand, E and P state that the Hebrews were settled in Egypt proper, on the banks of the Nile, among the Egyptians (Gen. 45 18 E; 47 11 P; Ex. 2 15 E; 2 3-5 E; 3 22 E; 11 2 E).

Of these two representations that of J is unquestionably preferable. The Hebrews were nomads at the time of the exodus, and this could not have been the case unless they had remained nomads during their stay in Egypt. This was possible in Goshen, but not on the banks of the Nile. The only question then is, Whether the stay in Goshen is credible. Against its credibility it has been argued that the Egyptian monuments contain no mention of the Hebrews. This is not quite certain; but even if it be true, it proves nothing. Another objection is the absence of Egyptian influence in the religion of Israel. This is not surprising, if the Hebrews continued to lead a nomadic life in Goshen, practically untouched by Egyptian civilization.

Within the last few years objections have been raised to the sojourn in Egypt on the basis of the discovery of a North Arabian land called Muṣri, which, it is thought, is often confused in the Old Testament with Miṣraim, Egypt. Winckler and Cheyne

hold that the Egypt of the exodus is an instance of this confusion, and that the Hebrews really migrated out of North Arabia. Similar is the view of Stade, Schiele, and Gemoll, based upon Jos. 10:41; 11:16, that the land of Goshen extended from the border of Egypt to southern Palestine. According to Gemoll the exodus was merely the movement of some Hebrew tribes from the south to the north of Canaan.

Against these theories it may be said (1) that the proof of the existence of a North Arabian land of Muṣri is not a disproof of the existence of Miṣraim, Egypt.

(2) The fact that there was a Goshen in Egypt and a Goshen in Canaan does not prove that the land of Goshen occupied the entire region between these places. The Greek for Goshen in Egypt is Γέσεμ, and for Goshen in Canaan, Γόσομ.

(3) From the earliest times Asiatics were admitted into Egypt. We have records of such admissions in the reign of Sesostris II (1900 B.C.) (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.* i, p. 281), in the reign of Harmhab (1350 B.C.) (Breasted, iii, p. 7), and the reign of Merneptah (1225 B.C.) (Breasted, iii, p. 273), where the people admitted are Edomites.

(4) There is a strong Egyptian color in the stories of Joseph and of the bondage, for instance, the dependence of the land upon the Nile, the etiquette of the Egyptian court, the process of embalming, the building of store-cities for grain, the use of sun-dried bricks, and the employment of forced labor. The burden of proof rests upon those who hold that this Egyptian color is interpolated in the tradition of the bondage. There is general agreement that the name Moses is of Egyptian origin, being the same as the element *môsé* "child," in the names of so many of the Pharaohs. Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron (Ex. 6:25) is also an Egyptian name, and so is Putiel, his maternal grandfather (Ex. 6:25). These names are found in P, but they seem to rest on ancient tradition, since Phinehas reappears in the high priestly family of Eli (I Sam. 4:11; cf. Jos. 24:33 E). According to Ex. 1:11 J, the Hebrews built for Pharaoh the store-cities of Pithom and Ramses. Pithom has been identified in the land of Goshen by the excavations of Naville, and Ramses is evidently the royal name Ramses. When Cheyne

seeks to invalidate this testimony by claiming that Moses is a corruption of Ishmael, Ramses a corruption of Aram-Ishmael, and Pithom a corruption of 'Arab-Ishmael, his argument is scarcely convincing.

(5) The ancient song of victory, a fragment of which has been preserved by J in Ex. 15 1, and by E in Ex. 15 21, presupposes an exodus from Egypt and a crossing of the Red Sea.

(6) The conception of Yahweh as a God who had redeemed his people that underlies the whole later religion of Israel is inexplicable except on the basis of a historic exodus, not from North Arabia, but from the mighty empire of the Pharaohs.

In view of these facts there is general agreement among recent critics that part at least of the tribes that made up later Israel sojourned for a time within the borders of Egypt.

2. *Was all of Israel in Egypt?*—In their present form our documents assume that all the sons of Jacob went down to Egypt, and that all the tribes took part in the exodus, but there are a number of facts that suggest that only a part of the tribes was there. According to J, the Hebrews formed a small community in the district of Goshen, that could easily be gathered by Moses to receive a message. They built the two granaries of Pithom and Ramses, which suggests that there were not more than two clans. In Ex. 1 10 the Pharaoh says, "Come let us deal wisely with them lest they multiply." According to E, the Hebrews were so few that two midwives sufficed for their needs (Ex. 1 15). This also suggests that there were not more than two clans. Even P holds that only seventy persons went down to Egypt, although he sets the number that went out at 600,000. Goshen had but little room, and could sustain only a small population. The march through the desert also would have been impossible for a large body of people on account of the limited water-supply. Moreover, the genealogies in I Chr. 1—8 ignore the exodus, and thus suggest that there were parts of Israel that were never in Egypt. The same is true of some of the stories of Genesis which assume an unbroken residence of certain tribes in Canaan (e. g. Gen. 38). The con-

elusions that we have reached already in regard to the conquest and the sojourn in the desert point in the same direction. If the Hebrew tribes conquered Canaan separately, and were divided in their residence in the desert, there is a strong probability that only a part of them was in Egypt.

3. *Which part of Israel was in Egypt?*—Weinheimer holds that it was the Hebrews in distinction from the tribes of Israel. “Hebrew” is a wider term than “Israelite,” as appears from Gen. 10:21 J; 11:14 P. Num. 24:24 J also distinguishes Heber from Israel. In I Sam. 14:21, and possibly 13:3, the Hebrews seem to be discriminated from Israel. Now the name Hebrew occurs with peculiar frequency in the story of the sojourn in Egypt (Gen. 39:14, 17; 40:15; 41:12; Ex. 1:16, 19; 2:6; 3:18; 5:3; 7:16; 9:1, 13; 10:3), and from this Weinheimer infers that only the Hebrews were in Egypt, and that subsequently they united with Israel in Canaan. This is far too slender a basis on which to build so large an hypothesis. In I Sam. 13:3 and 14:21 the Greek has “slaves” instead of Hebrews, showing that it read **עבדים** instead of **ישראלים**, which makes quite as good sense. We have no other evidence of Hebrews in Canaan distinct from Israel, and there is no reason to suspect a cleavage of the nation along this line.

Spiegelberg and H. P. Smith suggest that the tribe of Jacob was in Egypt, but not the tribe of Israel. The union of these two peoples was first effected in Canaan; but we find no trace of a distinction between Jacob and Israel in the stories of the wandering, in the conquest, or in the later history of the nation.

Kittel holds that all the tribes were settled in Canaan in the Patriarchal age, and that fragments of all of them went down to Egypt under the leadership of Joseph. This theory assumes that the stories of the Patriarchs can be assigned to a different age from the stories of the conquest in Jos. and Jud., a view that we have already seen to be untenable. The splitting of tribes that it postulates is improbable, and the stories of the conquest know nothing of the half-tribes that are supposed to have remained in Canaan. The only division of Israel that is known in later times is that between the Leah tribes and the Rachel tribes. The question then is, whether the people who

left Egypt belonged to the Kadesh-Leah group, or to the Sinai-Rachel group.

Meyer, Luther, Schiele and Haupt connect the exodus traditions with the Kadesh-Leah group. Wellhausen, Guthe, Bennett, Asmussen, Toy, Prášek, Benzinger, Steuernagel and Cook connect them with the Sinai-Rachel group. In attempting to decide between these theories we must investigate the testimony of tradition on the following points:

(1) *Which tribes are most prominent in the tradition of the sojourn in Egypt?* To this question only one answer can be given: Joseph alone is conspicuous. Joseph is sold into Egypt by his brothers, and he is the center of interest in Gen. 37—49. It is true that the other brothers also are brought down to Egypt, in accordance with the theory that Israel was a unit from the beginning, but nothing is told about their history. This seems to indicate that only the two Joseph tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh, the original representatives of the Rachel group, sojourned in Egypt. This tradition advocates of the Leah group are compelled to discount as a late invention.

(2) *To which tribe did Moses belong?* If Moses was the leader in the Exodus, it is probable that the tribe to which he belonged was settled in Egypt. On this point the traditions differ. According to E (Ex. 2 1) and P (Ex. 6 16-20), Moses belonged to the tribe of Levi. Corresponding to this P knows a clan of Levites called Mushi, "Mosaic" (Ex. 6 19), and Moses' sons Gershom and Eliezer are regarded as Levitical clans. Jud. 17 7 mentions a Levite from Bethlehem-Judah, and 18 30 says of him, "Jonathan, the son of Gershom, the son of Moses, he and his sons were priests to the tribe of the Danites unto the day of the captivity of the land." The reference to the captivity shows, as Meyer and Luther admit, that this verse is a late addition to the narrative, still it is witness to a tradition that the Levites of Dan were descended from Moses. Meyer claims also the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33 8) where it is said, "Thy Urim and thy Thummim be for the man, thy godly one, whom thou didst prove at Massah, with whom thou contendedest at the waters of Meribah." This Meyer thinks refers to Moses, and shows that he belonged to Levi and to Kadesh; but there

is nothing to prove this view. In all the other blessings the tribes are addressed, and it is probable that here the "godly one" is Levi rather than Moses.

On the other hand, J never calls Moses a Levite, and Luther (in Meyer's *Israeliten*, pp. 118—120) has collected a convincing body of evidence that J regarded Moses as an Ephraimite.

Between these conflicting traditions Meyer, Luther, Cornill, and Haupt decide in favor of the Levitical origin of Moses. According to Meyer, Levi, as it appears in Gen. 34 and Gen. 49, was originally a secular tribe that lived in the vicinity of Kadesh. It was only through its connection with Moses that it was transformed into a tribe of priests that devoted itself to the dissemination of the Mosaic religion. The view of J that Moses was an Ephraimite Meyer explains as a falsification of the tradition designed to commend the religion of the southern tribes to Ephraim. It may well be questioned whether this alteration of tradition is so likely as the transformation of Moses from an Ephraimite into a Levite. The powerful guild of the Levites would naturally wish to have the great lawgiver on its side, and might easily claim him, and name clans after him. We have a similar case in the transformation of Samuel from an Ephraimite (I Sam. 11) into a Levite (I Chr. 6:28).

(3) *Is Moses connected chiefly with Kadesh or with Sinai?* If tradition connects him with Kadesh, the probability is that he belonged to the Leah tribes; if with Sinai, the probability is that he belonged to the Rachel tribes. According to J (Ex. 2:15 f.), Moses fled from Egypt to the land of Midian (where Sinai was) and lived with the priest of Midian. This is followed by the revelation of Yahweh in the burning bush (Ex. 3:2). According to E (Ex. 3:1), Moses was keeping the flock of his father-in-law in Horeb when the divine revelation came to him. After the exodus both documents represent Moses as leading Israel to Sinai to make the covenant with Yahweh. This looks as if Moses were associated with the Sinai-Rachel group rather than with the Kadesh-Leah group.

Meyer, however, points out that Ex. 2:23, "the king of Egypt died," joins on naturally to Ex. 4:19, "and Yahweh said unto Moses in Midian, Go return unto Egypt," from which he infers

that the revelation of Yahweh to Moses in J (Ex. 3) did not occur at Sinai, but on the way from Midian to Egypt. The burning bush was a thorn-bush at Kadesh that glowed in the light of burning gas that issued from the earth. This view he attempts to back up by Deut. 33 16, "the good will of him that dwelt in a bush," which he connects with the reference to Kadesh in v. 8; but the indefinite expression "a bush" is surprising, and the statement that Yahweh "dwelt" in it has no parallel in Ex. 2, or elsewhere in the Old Testament. Wellhausen long since suggested (*Prolegomena*<sup>3</sup>, p. 354) that we should read here *sīnāi*, "Sinai," instead of *sēnē*, "bush." This correlates naturally with Deut. 33 2, where Yahweh comes from Sinai, his proper residence, to Kadesh. Apart from this passage the "bush" is mentioned only in Ex. 3 2-4. It plays no part whatever in later Old Testament tradition, and it may well be questioned whether Sinai is not the correct reading in Ex. 3 2-4, corresponding to Horeb in E.

Even if *sēnē* be right, there is an indubitable connection between this name and Sinai. Meyer's theory that the bush was called this to express the dependent relation of the cult at Kadesh to that at Sinai, is most artificial. Furthermore the flame in the bush, as Haupt has very properly pointed out, suggests connection with the volcanic phenomena at Sinai. Kadesh did not lie in the volcanic belt, and we have no record of other volcanic phenomena there. The pillar of cloud also is part of the original J narrative (Ex. 14 19b). Meyer explains this as the flame from the bush at Kadesh, which was believed to accompany Israel, but it is far more naturally regarded as the column of smoke by day and fire by night that hung over the top of Sinai and guided Israel from afar.

Moses' father-in-law, according to J, is the priest of Midian (Ex. 2 16). This indicates Moses' residence at Sinai, for we know of no Midianites near Kadesh. Meyer's explanation that this tradition indicates merely the dependent relation of the cult at Kadesh to that at Sinai is extremely artificial.

Finally, if, as Meyer thinks, Moses was the tribal hero of the Levites, we should expect to find his grave at Kadesh; instead of which Miriam is buried at Kadesh (Num. 20 1b E), and

Moses is buried in Mount Pisgah, east of the Jordan, on the route taken by the Joseph tribes in their invasion of Canaan (Deut. 34 J, E, P). Tradition, accordingly, is unanimous that Moses is more closely related to Sinai than to Kadesh.

(4) *Was the Mosaic religion more closely connected with the Kadesh-Leah tribes or with the Sinai-Rachel tribes?* Meyer, Luther, Asmussen, and Haupt think that it was connected with the Leah tribes, and that the Rachel tribes were converted to Mosaicism by the Levites after the time of David. Meyer holds that the northern tribes had originally a pre-Mosaic Yahweh-cult, Haupt denies that they worshiped Yahweh at all (*ZDMG*. 1909, pp. 507—516).

This view derives some support from the fact that Moses' father-in-law, according to J, was Hobab ben Reuel, the Kenite, or Midianite (Num. 10 29; Jud. 1 16), and that the Kenites settled with Judah in the south of the land (Jud. 1 16). It has long been recognized that the Kenites bear a peculiarly intimate relation to the religion of Yahweh, hence it is inferred that Moses must have belonged to the Leah group with which the Kenites were affiliated. In the tradition of J, however, the Kenites are associated, not with Kadesh, but with Midian and Sinai; and they stand as representatives, not of the Mosaic religion, but of a *pre-Mosaic* Yahwism. With this corresponds the fact that J regards the name Yahweh as in use from the beginning (Gen. 4 26). The Leah tribes, that were never in Egypt, had learned to worship Yahweh at Kadesh long before Moses (cf. Deut. 33 2 where Yahweh comes from Sinai to Kadesh).

E, on the other hand, represents the name Yahweh as first introduced in the time of Moses (Ex. 3 13-15); and consistently with this, avoids the use of this name in the pre-Mosaic period. This shows that the Rachel tribes made their first acquaintance with the god of Sinai at the time of the exodus. The worship of Yahweh, accordingly, was possessed by Judah and the Kenites before the exodus, but the distinctly Mosaic conception of Yahweh was first learned by the Joseph tribes in consequence of the exodus.

The following names compounded with Yahweh in the pre-

Davidic period are at least sufficient to show that Yahweh was not unknown to the Rachel tribes: Joshua, of the tribe of Ephraim; Joash, the father of Gideon, of the tribe of Manasseh; Jotham, the son of Gideon; Abijah, the son of Samuel, of Ephraim; and Joel, the son of Samuel. Names compounded with Yahweh are rare in the northern tribes, as we should expect, if the name was first introduced by Moses; still they exist.

The Song of Deborah (Jud. 5) proves not only that Yahweh was the God of the Rachel tribes, but also that they connected him with Sinai. The word Sinai may be an interpolation in v. 5, still vv. 4-5 unquestionably refer to Sinai. Haupt (*ZATW.* 1909, p. 286) pronounces these verses an interpolation, and adds, "Zur Zeit Deboras war der Gott Israels nicht Yahwe." This view demands, the excision of Yahweh not merely in vv. 4-5, but also in vv. 2. 3. 9. 11. 13. 23. 31. Meyer feels this to be impossible, and therefore claims that the northern tribes had a pre-Mosaic worship of Yahweh that they had brought from Sinai. If, as we have just seen, the Rachel tribes were in Egypt, and if Moses brought them to Sinai, there is no reason to assume that Deborah's connection of Yahweh with Sinai dates from the pre-Mosaic period.

All the traditions connect the ark with Sinai. According to J (Ex. 33:2), Yahweh would not leave Sinai, but sent his angel, the ark, to be his visible representative (cf. Jud. 2:1.5). The ark accompanied Israel on its march from Sinai (Num. 10:33.35). Here and always the ark is called the "ark of Yahweh." In later times it was the possession of the tribe of Ephraim, and was kept at Shiloh (I Sam. 3:3 E; 4:3 J). This indicates clearly that Ephraim was at Sinai. The priesthood at Shiloh that had the custody of the ark claimed a forefather (Moses, or Aaron?) who had taken part in the exodus (I Sam. 2:27). One of the members of this priesthood bore the Egyptian name Phinehas (I Sam. 4:11), doubtless inherited from his forefather of the period of the exodus (Ex. 6:25).

Finally, attention should be called to the way in which Ps. 80:1.2.8 connects the exodus with the tribes of Joseph: "Thou that leadest Joseph like a flock; thou that sittest upon

the cherubim, shine forth. Before Ephraim, Benjamin, and Manasseh, stir up thy might . . . . Thou broughtest a vine out of Egypt: thou didst drive out the nations, and plantedst it."

4. *When was Israel in Egypt?*—I Ki. 6 1 states that the building of the Temple was begun in the fourth year of Solomon, 480 years after the going out from Egypt. Following the larger figures given for the kings of Judah, Ussher reached 1011 B.C. as the date of the building of the Temple, and adding 480, reached 1491 B.C. as the date of the exodus. Following the shorter chronology demanded by the reigns of the kings of Israel and the Assyrian data, we obtain 967 as the date of the Temple and 1447 as the date of the exodus. On the other hand, if we follow the chronology of the Book of Judges, we reach at least 1520 as the year of the exodus. This difference from the date of Kings can perhaps be removed by recognizing that the Minor Judges formed no part of the Deuteronomic Book of Judges, and that therefore the years of their rule are not to be counted in making up totals.

The 480 years of I Ki. 6 1 seems to come from the hand of the Deuteronomic editor of Kings, and it is doubtful whether it embodies any ancient tradition. The number itself is suspicious, being composed of  $12 \times 40$ . This seems to show that there was a tradition of twelve generations from the exodus to the Temple, and this is confirmed by the genealogies in Gen. 36 31-39 and I Chr. 6 4-9; but forty years is too large an estimate for a generation. The average of the kings of Judah and of the kings of Babylon during the first three dynasties is twenty years. Assuming twelve generations of twenty years each, we should obtain  $967 + 240 = 1207$  as the date of the exodus.

Another method of computing the date is to reckon downward from Abram. In Gen. 14, a chapter of uncertain origin and doubtful historical value, Abram is made a contemporary of 'Amraphel, who is commonly believed to be identical with Hammurabi, King of Babylon, who reigned 1958—1916 B.C. (Meyer). If we assume that Abram's migration (Gen. 12 4) was synchronous with the beginning of Hammurabi's reign, we obtain 1958 minus 25 (Gen. 21 5), minus 60 (Gen. 25 26), minus 130 (Gen. 47 9), minus 430 (Ex. 12 40) = 1313 as the date of the

exodus; or, if we follow the text of the LXX. in Ex. 12.40, which gives 430 years from Abram's coming into Canaan to the going out from Egypt, we get 1528 as the date of the exodus. These figures are all derived from P, and it is doubtful whether they have any historical value. In Gen. 15.13 the sojourn in Egypt is estimated at 400 years. In Gen. 15.16 E says that the Hebrews shall return from Egypt in the fourth generation. Similarly in Ex. 21 (E) Moses' father marries the own daughter of Levi, and in Ex. 16.8 (J) the Pharaoh of the oppression lived in the next generation after Joseph. The older sources, accordingly, seem to have assumed a much shorter period for the sojourn in Egypt than is assumed by P. The genealogies of the different tribes allow from four to eight generations.

A new basis for the chronology has been found in recent times in Naville's identification of Pithom, the store-city that the Hebrews built for Pharaoh according to Ex. 1.11 (J). In 1883 in excavating the mound of Tell el-Maskhuta Naville found the name of the place Pi-Tum and the cartouche of Ramses II. This together with Ramses, the name of the other store-city built by the Hebrews, seems to indicate that Ramses II (1292—1225) was the Pharaoh of the oppression. The Pharaoh of the exodus was then one of his successors, either his son Merneptah (1225—1215), or a still later monarch.

It will be noted that the Biblical chronological data point in two directions. Part of them place the exodus in the eighteenth dynasty, and part in the nineteenth. It is an interesting question whether this difference has anything to do with the two groups in which, according to our older sources, the Hebrews entered Canaan.

## II. The Extra-Biblical Sources.

a. *The classical writers.*—Manetho, as cited by Josephus (*Cont. Apionem*, i, 26. 27), assigned the exodus to the reign of a certain Amenophis. Since his father was Ramses, and his son Sethos, who was also called Ramses; it has generally been supposed that by Amenophis Manetho meant Merneptah. Others think that Amenophis IV was meant. The same view is found in Chaeremon of Naucratis and Lysimachus of Alexandria, who

also are quoted by Josephus (*Cont. Ap.* i, 32, 34); and in Hecataeus of Abdera (Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.*, frag. 13), who also depends on Manetho.

Josephus himself and Ptolemaeus Mendesius held that the exodus was to be identified with the expulsion of the Hyksos by Amosis, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty (1580—1557 B.C.), and this view was general among the Alexandrian Jews and the Alexandrian Church Fathers. It is doubtful whether any historical value attaches to these legends. It is noteworthy, however, that they point in the same directions as the Biblical data, namely, to an exodus under the eighteenth dynasty, or under the nineteenth.

b. *The evidence of archaeology.*—The facts in outline are as follows:

About 1780 Egypt was conquered by the Hyksos, a nomadic people from the north, who ruled for two centuries. One of the Hyksos Pharaohs bore the name *Jacob-her*, or possibly *Jacob-el* (Breasted, *Hist.* p. 220). The Hyksos were finally expelled by Ahmose I, the founder of the glorious eighteenth dynasty (1580 B.C.). Under his successors Palestine and Syria were conquered and made Egyptian provinces, and the Egyptian arms were carried far into Mesopotamia. Thutmose III (c. 1500 B.C.) in his list of conquered tribes mentions *Y(a)-<sup>č</sup>q(e)-b-<sup>č</sup>â-ra* and *Y(a)-ša-p-<sup>č</sup>(e)-ra*. There is general agreement that the first represents יַעֲקֹב־הָר, Jacob-el; and competent authorities, such as Groff, Meyer, Müller, Maspero, Sayce, Kittel and Prášek, hold that the second represents יוֹסֵף־הָר, Joseph-el. Here apparently are the Hebrew tribes Jacob and Joseph in Canaan as early as 1500. Whether Simeon is to be found in *Sha-ma-na* (No. 35 in the list of Thutmose) is very doubtful.

In the fifteenth century the Aramaean migration began. The Amarna letters show that about 1400, during the reigns of the Pharaohs Amenhotep III and Amenhotep IV, Canaan was invaded by a people called the Habiru (Habiru is the nominative, Habiri the oblique case; Knudtzon, p. 45). Sayce, Halévy, Müller and Obbink regard the name as a denominative from *habar*, "bind," and think that it means only "allies." Sayce (*Exp. Times*, 1904, p. 282) holds that the Habiru were Hittites;

Halévy (*J. Asiat.* 1891, p. 547), that they were Cassites. This view is precluded by the fact that in two cases the determinative *KI* for "land" is appended to the name (Knudtzon, p. 46; Böhl, p. 89), which shows that the Ḫabiru were a race. Eerdmans thinks that Ḫabiru = Hawiru = Ḥâru, or Canaan, as it was called by the Egyptians; but *b* never represents *w* in the Amarna letters, and the Ḫabiru are evidently invaders. Phonetically Ḫabiru may be Ḥeber, a clan of Asher (Gen. 46 17); or Ḥépher, a Midianite clan (Gen. 25 4); or Ḥépher (I Ki. 4 10); or Ḥ̄ber, 'Ibrî, "Hebrew."

So long as the Ḫabiru were named only in the letters from Jerusalem and it was doubtful whether they were to be identified with the people mentioned in the other letters under the ideographic designation *SA.GAZ*, it might be questioned which of these identifications was correct. Now, however, Winckler has shown (*MDOG.* No. 35, Dec. 1907, p. 25, note; cf. Böhl, p. 89) that in the recently discovered tablets of Boghazkiöi the terms "gods of the Ḫabiru" and gods of the *SA.GAZ* alternate. This identification shows that in the case of the Ḫabiru we are dealing with a great racial migration. The Ḫabiru, therefore, cannot be a minor clan of Asher or Midian, but can only be Hebrews (so Conder, Hommel, Zimmern, Winckler, Meyer, Knudtzon, Gemoll, Böhl, Weinheimer, Benzinger, Kittel, König, Guthe, Trampe, Haupt, Spiegelberg, Prášek, Erbt, Miketta, Lehmann-Haupt).

It must be remembered, however, that Hebrew is a wider term than Israelite. The Ḫabiru of the Amarna letters, though they may be Hebrews, are not all Israelites, for they conquer the Amorites in Lebanon, and attack the Phoenician cities, and their gods play an important part in the treaty of the Hittites with Mitanni.

On the other hand, Hebrews in Canaan are most likely Israelites, for we know no other Hebrews there; and this conclusion is confirmed by the fact that two centuries later Merneptah mentions Israel in the same region where in the Amarna letters we find the Ḫabiru (so Conder, Hommel, Meyer, Jastrow, Spiegelberg, Erbt, Miketta, Haynes, Knudtzon, Gemoll, Toffteen). Numerous efforts have been made to identify the conquests of

the Habiru with the conquests narrated in Jos. and Jud., but they have not been successful. Conder thought that he found Adoniṣedeq, king of Jerusalem; Japhia, king of Gezer; and Jabin, king of Hazor, in the letters; but his readings have not been confirmed. The supposed mention of Judah also rests upon a misreading in the text of Winckler. Labaya can hardly equal Levi (Jastrow, p. 121), and Toffteen's identifications of Joshua, Ehud and Deborah are unconvincing. Milk-ili may be Malkiel, a clan of Asher, and Shamluna may be Simeon, but both are doubtful. It is a striking fact, however, that no letters come from cities that the older sources of Jos. and Jud. say expressly were captured by Israel, e. g., Jericho, Bethel, Gibeon, Shiloh and Hebron, but all come from cities that are expressly said not to have been captured. It is possible, therefore, that the Amarna letters contain the Canaanite version of Israel's conquest.

A word should be said in regard to the personal name Ahiyami, or Ahi-yawi in the letter found at Taanach (Sellin, *Tell Ta'annek*, p. 115). In Neo-Babylonian documents from Nippur final *Yah* or *Yahu* is represented by *Yama* = *Yawa*. This suggests that in the letter from Taanach we have a name compounded with Yahweh. If so, this favors the theory that the Habiru in Canaan were Israelites.

As a result of the Habiru invasion and internal disorders in Egypt, Canaan threw off Egyptian rule during the period from the death of Amenhotep IV (1358 B.C.) to the accession of Seti I of the nineteenth dynasty (1313 B.C.). The condition of Canaan at the beginning of Seti's reign is thus described in one of his inscriptions: "The vanquished Shasu (*Š'-sw*), they plan rebellion. Their tribal chiefs are gathered together, rising against the Asiatics of Kharu (*H'-rw*). They have taken to quarreling and cursing, each of them slaying his neighbor, and they disregard the laws of the palace" (Breasted, *Anc. Rec.*, iii, p. 52). In this description it is impossible not to recognize the same state of affairs that is depicted in the Amarna letters. Shasu means Bedawin, and the ideogram *SA.GAZ* that is applied to the Habiru is given in the syllabaries as denoting *habatum*, "robber." If the Habiru are Hebrews, the Shasu of Seti I must be Hebrews also.

In the inscriptions of Seti I and Ramses II a land 'Isr is mentioned, which Müller, Kittel, Prášek, Miketta and Meyer identify with Asher.

In the famous stele of Merneptah (1225—1215), discovered by Petrie at Thebes in 1896, occurs the first and only mention of Israel found as yet in the Egyptian records. The closing lines of the inscription are thus translated by Breasted (*Anc. Rec.* iii, p. 263): "Wasted is Tehenu (Libya), Khetā (the Hittites) are pacified, plundered is Pekanan (Canaan) with every evil, carried off is Askalon, seized upon is Gezer, Yenoam is made as a thing not existing, Israel is desolated, his seed is not; Palestine has become a widow for Egypt." There is no doubt as to the correctness of the reading "Israel." The proposal to read "Jezreel" is precluded by the determinative for "people," instead of for "city." Merneptah's campaign in Palestine is also well attested (Breasted, *o. c.*, pp. 258 ff.). Von Calice (*OLZ*. 1903, col. 224) has ingeniously suggested that the Fountain of Mineptāḥ (Jos. 15 9; 18 15) contains the name of this king and is another evidence of his conquest. From the order in which the captured towns are named in the inscription it seems as if the Israel that Merneptah encountered was settled in Central Palestine.

In a number of Egyptian texts a people called '-pw-r' are mentioned sometimes with the determinative of the Egyptian verb 'pr, "work," sometimes with the determinative for "foreign people." Chabas first suggested that this was the phonetic equivalent of 'Ibri, Hebrew. Brugsch, Wiedemann, Meyer and Müller oppose this view, claiming that the word means only "workmen"; but Heyes (pp. 146 ff.) has shown that while this translation applies to the word with the determinative for "work," it does not apply to it with the determinative for "foreign people"; and Burchardt (*Altkan. Fremdu.* II, No. 252) adds that the "syllabic" spelling indicates the adoption of a foreign name. Accordingly, there has been a tendency of late to return to the view that the '-pw-r' with foreign determinative are Hebrews (so Heyes, Hommel, König, Kittel, Eerdmans, Obbink, Driver). These people are mentioned under Thutmose III, Ramses II, Ramses III and Ramses IV as a foreign

population that executed forced labor for the Pharaohs on their public works (see Ferdinand, *A.T. Studien*, ii, pp. 52 ff.).

The archaeological facts, accordingly, point in the same two directions as the chronological indications in the Old Testament, namely, that there were Hebrews in Canaan under the eighteenth dynasty, and that Hebrews remained in Egypt as late as the nineteenth dynasty.

### III. The Historical Results.

We have now gathered the pieces of our puzzle from the Old Testament and from archaeological sources, and the problem is, how to arrange them in a consistent picture.

There are three main types of theory: the first one emphasizes the data of the Bible and of archaeology that point to a conquest of Canaan under the eighteenth dynasty; the second emphasizes the data that point to a conquest under the nineteenth dynasty, and the third assumes a divided conquest, partly under the eighteenth, and partly under the nineteenth dynasty.

a. *The theory of a united conquest under the eighteenth dynasty.*—Urquhart and Hollingworth, following the chronology of the Book of Judges and of Acts 13:19 ff., reach the reigns of Thutmose II or III (1501—1447), as the date of the exodus. The Jacob-el and Joseph-el that Thutmose III found in Canaan they hold to be Israel.

Most of the advocates of an early conquest follow the 480 years of I Ki. 6:1, and assume that the exodus occurred under Amenhotep II (1448—1420), or one of his immediate successors. This is the view of Hommel, Orr, Haynes, Lieblein, Klostermann, König, Köhler, Conder, Vogel, Obbink, Miketta, Böhl. On this theory the identity of Israel with Jacob-el and Joseph-el in Thutmose III has to be denied, but Israel is equated with the Habiru, the Shasu, Asher and Israel in the Amarna letters and the Egyptian inscriptions.

The chief difficulty with this hypothesis is that it is compelled to deny the testimony of Pithom and Ramses that Israel was still in Egypt as late as the reign of Ramses II. These names in Ex. 1:11 are pronounced an erroneous gloss: but Ramses is known to J also in Ex. 12:37, and it is hard to see

how a late glossator could have gained access to the information that the obscure store-city of Pithom was built at the same time as a city named after one of the Ramesids.

Moreover, the identification of the Pharaoh of the oppression with Ramses II fits well with Egyptian history. Ex. 223 says that the Pharaoh of the oppression lived long. Ramses II reigned 67 years. Throughout the eighteenth dynasty there was no fear of Semites in Egypt, for Canaan stood under Egyptian rule. Under the nineteenth dynasty, however, the Egyptian power in Palestine began to break up. Ramses II was glad to conclude a treaty of peace with the king of the Hittites for mutual defense. At this time, when Egypt's foreign possessions were menaced by other Semites, the presence of the Hebrews in Egypt might be felt to be dangerous, and repressive measures might be adopted. Ramses II is known to have been a great builder, and multitudes of Semitic slaves were employed in his works. Under his successor Merneptah the very existence of Egypt was threatened by an invasion of Libyans and Sea-Peoples, and this gave a favorable opportunity for the exodus of the Hebrews. With this accords the fact that the southward movement of the Amorites under pressure of the Hittites is first recorded by Ramses III, and that Israel found Amorite kingdoms east of the Jordan at the time of its advance upon Canaan. It is not clear, therefore, that Pithom and Ramses in Ex. 111 are an erroneous gloss.

This theory is also compelled to deny that the '*pw-r*' are Hebrews, but this denial is far from certain.

Still another formidable difficulty is that Egyptian rule in Canaan continued throughout the eighteenth dynasty, and under the first kings of the nineteenth dynasty. If Israel was settled in Canaan as early as the fifteenth century, it is surprising that no traditions of Egyptian rule in that country have survived in the Old Testament. The only Egyptian oppression that Israel remembered was the one in Egypt itself. The explanation of Haynes, that the Egyptians carried on their wars with the use of mercenaries, so that the foes of the Book of Judges were really Egyptian hirelings, is not true to the facts of Egyptian history. The attempt of Hollingworth to prove that the Book

of Judges shows knowledge of Egyptian intervention in Canaan cannot be pronounced successful.

b. *The theory of a united conquest under the nineteenth dynasty.*—Influenced by the considerations that have just been enumerated, another group of critics place the exodus under Merneptah, or one of his successors, and date the conquest somewhere about 1200. To this group belong Wellhausen, Guthe, Kautzsch, G. A. Smith, Cornill, Driver, Breasted, Ball, Fotheringham, Duncan, Hervey, McNeile, Montet, McCurdy, Sayce, Price, Wade, Oettli, Ottley, Lehmann-Haupt. Some of these critics hold that only part of Israel was in Egypt; but all think that the conquests by the Hebrew tribes were contemporaneous, or nearly so.

This theory is compelled to throw overboard the 480 years from the exodus to the Temple. Only Beecher saves it by dating Ramses II 1550 B.C., which, of course, is impossible. This theory is compelled also to get rid of Jacob-el, Joseph-el, the Habiru, Shasu, Asher, and Israel in Merneptah as witnesses for an early conquest. This is accomplished in two ways:—

1. *The denial that Israel is found in Canaan before 1200.*—Jacob-el and Joseph-el in Thutmose III, it is said, have nothing to do with Israel. This is probably correct. As we saw above, Jacob and Joseph are apparently Canaanite names that were adopted by Israel after the conquest (so Guthe, Schiele, Meyer, Peters).

The denial that the Habiru have anything to do with Israel is more difficult. When we meet the Habiru about 1400, the Shasu and Asher about 1300, and Israel in Merneptah's inscription about 1220, it is hard to believe that there is no connection between them. Arguments may be brought against each of them individually, but these do not recognize the cumulative force of the combination. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that in the Habiru migration we see the first efforts of the Hebrew tribes to gain a foothold in Canaan.

In the case of the Merneptah inscription the effort is made to show that the Israel there mentioned was settled in Egypt (Naville, Prášek, Hummelauer, Price, Fotheringham), or in the desert to the south of Canaan (Petrie, Lehmann-Haupt), but a

fair interpretation of the text does not warrant either of these opinions. The connection of Israel with Ascalon, Gezer, Yenoam and Palestine in the inscription indicates that Israel was settled in central Canaan. Schiele and Stade (*Bib. Theol.* p. 58) escape the difficulty by asserting that Israel was a Canaanite name that was not adopted by the Hebrews until after the Conquest. For this there is no proof.

2. *The identification of the early Hebrews with the Patriarchs.*—Recognizing the difficulty of explaining away the traces of Hebrews in Canaan under the eighteenth dynasty, several critics have suggested that these early Hebrews were the Patriarchs. On this theory Jacob-el, the Habiru, Shasu, Asher, and Israel in Merneptah correspond with the Book of Genesis rather than with the Books of Joshua and Judges (so Kittel, Hommel, Prášek, Cornill, Burney, Driver, Haynes).

The chief objection to this view, as we saw above, is that the Book of Genesis cannot be shown to refer to an earlier period than the Books of Jos. and Jud. A further objection is, that this theory assumes that the Patriarchs were in Canaan at a time when, according to the Old Testament chronology, they were in bondage in Egypt. This difficulty is met with the assumption that only parts of the Patriarchal families went down to Egypt, while the other parts remained in Canaan; but, as we saw before, such a splitting of tribes is unnatural; we find no trace of the half-tribes in Canaan at the time of the conquest; and the only division of Israel that is known to Old Testament tradition is between Leah tribes and Rachel tribes.

In order to escape this difficulty Eerdmans assumes that the descent into Egypt did not occur until after Merneptah's mention of Israel. The Israel encountered by him was the Israel of Genesis, not that of Joshua. The Syrian usurper at the end of the nineteenth dynasty was Joseph. The exodus did not occur until the end of the twentieth dynasty, about 1100 B.C. With Israel there went out of Egypt the '*-pw-r'*, Hebrews, the "mixed multitude" of Ex. 12:38; hence the double tradition of the length of the stay in Egypt.

This theory is open to the same objection as the one just mentioned, that there is no satisfactory evidence of a Patri-

archal period of Hebrew history. It is compelled also to reject the testimony of Pithom and Ramses that Ramses II was the Pharaoh of the oppression. It reduces the period of the stay in Egypt to one hundred years, and it leaves only one hundred years for the period of the Judges. The non-mention of Philistines in the early part of the Book of Judges shows that the conquest cannot be placed as late as 1100, since the Philistine settlement in Canaan began in the reign of Ramses III (1198—1167 B.C.).

c. *The theory of a divided conquest.*—Since it is impossible to hold that all Israel entered Canaan under the eighteenth dynasty, or all Israel under the nineteenth dynasty, it seems necessary to think that part of the tribes effected a settlement under the eighteenth dynasty, and part later, under the nineteenth or twentieth dynasty. This theory assumes a variety of forms.

1. *The theory of Gemoll.*—Gemoll holds that the Hexateuchal traditions are of mixed origin, partly Canaanite and partly Hebrew. Only a few of the tribes of later Israel were of pure Hebrew stock, the others were Canaanites and Amorites. The Kenites, Dan, Simeon, and Levi belonged to the Hyksos population that settled in Canaan after their expulsion from Egypt. They were identical with the Harri, or Aryans, of the Boghazkiöi tablets. Their god was Yahweh, who is identical with the Sanskrit fire-god Yama. The first genuine Hebrew tribes to enter Canaan were Ephraim and Manasseh, who came about 1500. They were followed about 1400 by the Zilpah tribes, who are identical with the Habiru. Judah belonged to the Amorite wave of migration that entered Canaan about 1200.

This theory rests upon a fantastic combination of place-names and personal names, and is intrinsically improbable. That these heterogeneous elements, Hyksos, Hebrew and Amorite should have been fused so successfully by the time of David as to regard themselves as descended from a common ancestor; and that an Aryan god should have been adopted by Semites, and served with a purely Semitic ritual, transcends all probability.

2. *Toffteen's theory of two exodi.*—According to this the first exodus was identical with the invasion of Canaan by the *Habiru* about 1400 B.C.; the second exodus occurred 1144 B.C. This second exodus included only Reuben, Simeon and Levi. Eli, the priest of Shiloh, and Eliezer, the son of Aaron were the same person. The two lines of priests that we find in the time of David were the descendants of the high priests of the two exodi.

This theory depends upon the assumption that the P document was written in the time of Samuel, and is just as trustworthy as J and E. Its divergences from JE are explained as due to the fact that it narrates a different exodus. Modern scholarship does not agree with Toffteen's ideas of the antiquity of P, and therefore is not likely to accept the theory that there were two exodi, that were parallel in all their main features, and that were both led by a prophet called Moses.

3. *The theory of Weinheimer.*—The theory of Weinheimer, that the Hebrews were in Egypt, but not Israel; and the kindred theory of Spiegelberg that Jacob was in Egypt, but not Israel, so that the conquest by Israel may have been earlier than the conquest by the Hebrews or by Jacob; we have already considered in connection with the sojourn in Egypt and found unsatisfactory. If the Hebrew tribes were divided in their conquest of Canaan, it can only have been along the line indicated by all the Old Testament documents, that between the Leah tribes and the Rachel tribes.

4. *The theory that the Rachel tribes settled first in Canaan.*—Those critics who hold that only the Leah tribes were in Egypt are obliged in consistency to think that the Rachel tribes were first settled in Canaan. The Pharaoh of the oppression was almost certainly Ramses II, and the exodus did not occur until the reign of Merneptah, or one of his successors; if Hebrews are found in Canaan before this time, they must have belonged to the tribes that were not in Egypt. Accordingly, Meyer, Luther, Schiele, and Haupt claim that the Rachel tribes were settled in Canaan long before the Leah tribes, and that they are to be identified with the *Habiru*, *Shasu*, and *Israel* of Merneptah. The only support for this view, apart from theories

of the sojourn in Egypt, lies in Merneptah's use of the name "Israel." In later times this name was applied to the northern tribes in distinction from Judah, and from this it is inferred that Merneptah must have found the Rachel tribes in Canaan rather than the Leah tribes. The name "Israel" was broad enough, however, to include the northern Leah tribes, and it has not yet been proved that in early times it was not applied to the other Leah tribes also.

5. *The theory that the Leah tribes settled first in Canaan.*—Those critics who think that the weight of evidence is in favor of a sojourn of the Rachel tribes in Egypt hold that the Leah tribes made the first settlements in Canaan. In support of this opinion several arguments may be urged:—

(1) Our oldest narrative of the conquest (Jud. 1:2) declares expressly that the Leah tribes Judah and Simeon were the first to invade Canaan. Advocates of the Rachel-first theory are obliged to pronounce this a late invention designed to glorify Judah.

(2) Gen. 34 places the attack of Simeon and Levi on Shechem immediately after the arrival of Israel in Canaan.

(3) The genealogies of Genesis regard the sons of Leah as the firstborn of Israel. This can only mean that these tribes were settled first.

(4) The geographical location of the Leah tribes in two divisions, separated by the Rachel tribes, indicates most naturally a later intrusion of the Rachel tribes into Canaan.

(5) The episode of the attack of Simeon and Levi on Shechem (Gen. 34) would have been impossible after the district of Shechem had been occupied by the Rachel tribes. On the other hand, the attack on Shechem and the subsequent rising of the Canaanites against Simeon and Levi that resulted in their scattering in Israel (Gen. 34:30; 49:7) explains why the Leah tribes were split into two sections, and why the Rachel tribes were able later to gain a foothold in this region.

(6) Asher, as we have seen, is mentioned in the inscriptions of Seti I and Ramses II, Gad is spoken of in the Mesha Inscription (line 10) as the aboriginal inhabitant of the region east of the Jordan, but Asher and Gad belong to Zilpah, the

maid of Leah (Gen. 30 9-13), which indicates that the Leah tribes settled among the Asherites and Gadites before the Rachel tribes.

(7) Leah means "cow" and Rachel means "sheep." The people that breed the cow are those that have abandoned the nomadic life and have become Fellâhîn. The people that still breed the sheep are those that stand nearest to the nomadic life of the desert. The division of Israel into these two main groups suggests that the Leah tribes were the first to settle down. Haupt, who holds that the Rachel tribes settled first, is compelled to assume that the names of the mothers have been exchanged by tradition. Leah was really the mother of the Joseph tribes, and Rachel the mother of Reuben, Simeon and Levi. Rachel was represented as the mother of Joseph and Benjamin to further the political ambitions of the dynasty of David (*ZATW.* 1909, pp. 284 f.). Against this hypothesis is the fact that Levi and Leah are etymologically connected, so that we cannot assign Levi to any other than the Leah group.

For these reasons it seems probable that the Leah tribes were the first to settle in Canaan. Taking all the data into consideration, one might formulate tentatively some such hypothesis as this:—Reuben, Simeon, Levi, and Judah, the older Leah tribes of the genealogies, were identical with the Habiru migration. Gad and Asher, the children of Leah's handmaid Zilpah, were Canaanites, or other alien clans, that amalgamated with the Leah tribes. The younger Leah tribes, Issachar and Zebulon, were a later wave of the Habiru migration, or an off-shoot from the older Leah tribes. The Rachel tribes came out of Egypt under the leadership of Moses and Joshua, and about 1200 B.C. forced their way into Canaan between the two divisions of the Leah tribes. Dan and Naphtali, the children of Rachel's handmaid Bilhah, were Canaanites, or other alien clans, that were annexed by the Rachel tribes.

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## The Mosaic Olive Press at Moresheth-Gath

GEORGE B. ROBINSON

MCCORMICK THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

ON our last trip to Palestine in 1907 we visited Beit Jibrin and the rock caverns of Tell Sandahannah and Khurbet Mer'ash nearby; and, almost by accident, came upon an ancient olive press, with vats and mosaic floor; by far the most elaborate one we ever saw. It happened thus: after having examined the ruins, wells and *mezbeles* of the modern village of Beit Jibrin, we walked one mile south to the ruined church of St. Anne, visiting the painted tombs of Marissa and studying the inscriptions; then crossing over the knoll to the north-west we came up to a lime-kiln situated about three fourths of a mile south-west of the village. According to Baedeker we were now in the vicinity of Khurbet Mer'ash which by some is identified with Moresheth-Gath—the birth place of the prophet Micah (Mic. 1:14). Recalling the last portion of the compound name, *gath* and its significance "wine press," we enquired of our local guide if there were no wine presses in the vicinity, whereupon he replied, with more than ordinary willingness and self-confidence, "Yes, sir, right over that wall there." We followed him a few paces, climbed over a low fence which enclosed a number of olive trees, and to our great surprise and delight, there before us was a large and well defined wine press, or more probably an olive press, a plan and photograph of which accompany this brief sketch.

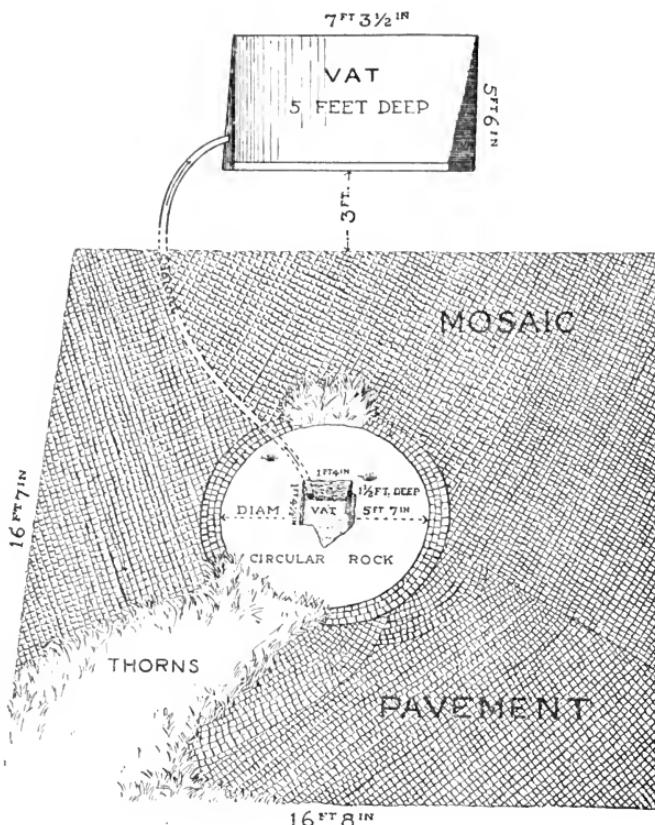
So far as we have been able to discover, no one of the many visitors to Beit Jibrin, or of the excavators of Marissa or Tell Sandahannah, has taken the pains to describe it; indeed, so far as the writer knows, it has never been observed. Neither Dr. F. J. Bliss nor Mr. R. A. Stewart Macalister in their monograph entitled "Excavations in Palestine," 1902; nor Drs. Peters

and Thiersch in their "Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa," 1905, take any notice of it. We can hardly assume that any of these gentlemen ever had their attention called to it or they would certainly have made some allusion to it; for it bears the evident marks of antiquity, and among all the olive or wine presses discovered it certainly ranks as one of the most elaborate.

Briefly described it consists of two main parts: (1) *A Receiving Vat*, 7 ft. 3 1—2 in. long by 5 ft. 6 in. broad, and 5 ft. deep,



cut in the rock and bearing marks of having been in use for generations. (2) *A Mosaic Platform*, 16 ft. 8 in. long by 16 ft. 7 in. broad, the floor being paved with smooth white tesserae, and for the most part still in a fair state of preservation. In the center of this extensive mosaic pavement there is a large circular rock, 5 ft. 7 in. in diameter, in which there is a rectangular cutting 1 ft. 4 1—2 in. long by 1 ft. 4 in. broad, and 1 ft. 6 in. deep, the wall of one end having fallen away in part. This cavity was doubtless used as a Press Vat. For,



from it the juice expressed was evidently conducted by means of a small channel cut through the rock to the Receiving Vat which is on a slightly lower level. The distance from the one vat to the other was approximately 12 feet; that between the mosaic platform and the Receiving Vat being exactly 3.

At first sight I supposed we were looking upon an ancient wine press, but, on maturer reflection because of the olive groves which surround Beit Jibrin and which still grow closely contiguous to the press itself, I have concluded that its primary use was more probably for expressing olive oil.

## The Beezebul Sections

BURTON SCOTT EASTON

WESTERN THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, CHICAGO.

IT is the purpose of the present paper to discuss the passage Mt. 12 25-32, Mk. 3 23-30, Lk. 11 17-23, 12 10, with a view to determining the channels that lead back from the versions in the present Gospels to the first origin of the sayings, and to give a survey of recent scholarly opinion. The following authorities will be referred to:—

Bacon, B. W., *The Beginnings of Gospel Story*. New Haven, 1909.

Harnack, A., *Sprüche und Reden Jesu*. Leipsic, 1907.

Holtzmann, H. J., *Die synoptischen Evangelien*. Tübingen, 1901.

Jülicher, A., *Die Gleichnisreden Jesu*. Part II. Tübingen, 1899 (reprinted 1910).

Klostermann, E., *Markus*. Tübingen, 1907. *Matthaeus*. Do., 1909 (in Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*.)

Loisy, A., *Les Évangiles Synoptiques*. Ceffonds (now Paris), 1907. (Only Vol. I is cited.)

Montefiore, C., *The Synoptic Gospels*. London, 1909.

Nicolardot, F., *Les procédés de rédaction des trois premiers Évangélistes*. Paris, 1908.

Weiss, B., *Die Quellen der synoptischen Überlieferung*. Leipsic, 1908.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Weiss's results are collected on p. 36 of this work and to this page references are for the most part restricted in the present paper. The details are discussed at greater length in *Die Quellen des Lucas-Evangeliums* (Stuttgart, 1907) and in Vol. I of *Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament*, Pt. 1, Mt., ed. 10, 1910, Pt. 2, Mk.-Lk., ed. 9, 1901 (Göttingen).

Weiss, J., *Die Schriften des Neuen Testaments*. Vol. I, Göttingen, 1906.<sup>2</sup>

Wellhausen, J., *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*. Ed. 2, Berlin, 1911. *Das Evangelium Matthaei*. Do., 1904, —*Marci*, Ed. 2, 1909, —*Lucae*, 1904.

In Mk. 3 23-27, Lk. 11 17-23, Mt. 12 25-30 the relations are exhibited with tolerable clearness in the following table, which gives the total number of words in each vs (or part of a vs) and the number of these words shared by two or more accounts:—

Mk.	Lk.	Mt.	Total Words			Common Words		
			Mk.	Lk.	Mt.	Mk.-Lk.	Mk.-Mt.	Lk.-Mt.
23			12					
	17a	25a		8	7		5	
24—25	17b	25b	24	11	16	5	9	6
26	18	26	15	21	16	8	8	11
	19	27		20	20			19
	20	28		16	17			15
27	21—22	29	26	34	27	5	23	4
	23	30		15	15			15
Total			77	125	118	18	40	75
Marcan			77	66	59	18	40	21
Non-Marcan				59	59			54

(The above count is based on Tischendorff's text and in it *μερίσω* and *διαμερίσω* have been counted as a single word.)

It is a familiar fact in Synoptic criticism,—obvious enough from the data of this table,—that in Mt. and Lk. two sources, —Mk. and Q,—have been combined. Evidently, too, in Mt. this combination accounts for almost the whole section, for in the Marcan parts of Mt. only 13 words (less than 23 % of all) are not in the parallels, while the non-Marcan section is virtually identical with Lk. On the other hand, Lk. and Mk. are practically independent and only at the beginning of Mk. 26 and Lk. 18 do they agree in more than isolated words. In particular, Lk. 18b and 21—22 are quite different from any-

<sup>2</sup> A few references marked *Ev.* are to *Das älteste Evangelium*, Göttingen, 1904.

thing in Mk.'s immediate context, although Lk. 18b has some similarity to Mk. 30.

Taking up the passages in detail, Mt.'s modifications of Mk. are of the slightest, apart from obvious abbreviations<sup>3</sup> of Mk.'s somewhat verbose style. In 25b *κατά* is better than *ἐπί* after *μερίσεσθαι* and in 25c the addition of "city"<sup>4</sup> makes a triad of illustrations. In 26 the protasis has been so worded (with the aid of Mk. 23b) as to reply directly to the charge of the Pharisees. And at the beginning of 29 Mk.'s harsh *ἀλλ' οὐ*—*οὐδές* has been avoided by conforming the wording to that of the parallel question in 26b. Evidently there is no critical reason to go beyond Mk. for Mt.'s source here.

In the non-Markan section the problem is to recover the original wording of Q by comparing Mt. with Lk. Mt. in 25a has *ἐνθυμήσεις*, while Lk. 17 has *διανοήματα*. B. Weiss (p. 36) and Jülicher (p. 219) think that Lk. has accredited Christ with a more supernatural knowledge. But this is not necessary, Lk. never uses this word elsewhere (indeed, it is unique in the NT.), while Mt.'s phrase is a simple duplicate of 9.4. Hence Lk. seems the more original. Mt. 28 has *πνεύματι*, Lk. 20 has *δακτύλῳ*. Lk. again is probably more original, for he is fond of references to the Spirit (18 times against 12 for Mt. and 6 for Mk.) and so would not be likely to omit the word, while Mt. needs it here to prepare for vv. 31—32. And contrast Lk. 10.21 with Mt. 11.25 and Lk. 11.13 with Mt. 7.11.<sup>5</sup> Of minor matters, Lk.'s love for compounds is undoubtedly responsible for *διαμερισθεῖσα* in 17 as against the simple verb in Mt. 25 while Mt.'s *καὶ* in 27 and his simple *καὶ* in 26 are preferable to Lk.'s *δέ* and *δὲ καὶ* (an intensely common Lucan com-

<sup>3</sup> Loisy (p. 703) suggests that Mt. may have thought that the *ἐν παραβολαῖς* ought not to have been used before the parable chapter.

<sup>4</sup> This addition of "city" probably gives "house" a wrong sense (Jül., p. 221, Loisy, p. 704).

<sup>5</sup> Incidentally, *δακτύλῳ* here is very Hebraistic (e. g., Ex. 8.15,—cf. Bacon, p. 36) and, as Wellh. (Mk., p. 27) points out, is an exact synonym of *πνεύματι*,—something that the Gentile Lk. could scarcely have felt. Yet Harnack (p. 20, cf. Holtzm., p. 366) cites Lk. 1.51.66.73 as examples of Lk.'s fondness for anthropomorphisms. But they are hardly relevant and, besides, they probably are not due to Lk. but to some source (B. Weiss, p. 36).

bination) in 19 and 18 respectively. (The discussion of the force of the differences in Jülicher, p. 222, is perhaps over-refined.) The absence of ἐγώ (Mt. 28) from Lk. 20 is largely a textual question but if the word is not read in Lk.'s text, its omission by Lk. is harder than its addition by Mt. And, similarly, the addition of οὖν in Mt. 26 is easier than its omission by Lk. in 18.<sup>6</sup>

Turning now to Lk.'s version, it is characterized by very few specifically Lucan touches. For *οἶκος* (18) as opposed to *οἰκία* (Mt.-Mk.) Lk. has an undoubted fondness (34:25 Ev., 25:12 Acts, as contrasted with 9:25 for Mt. and 12:19 for Mk.,—if metaphorical uses be disregarded these figures become 29:24, 17:12, 8:25, 12:18). *ἐπέρχομαι* in 22 is a Lucan word (Lk. 1:35, 21:26, Acts 1:8, 8:24, 13:40, 14:19, not Mk. or Mt.). *λέγω* followed by the infinitive in 18b is a construction for which there is no certain evidence in Q but which is found Lk. 20:41 (introduced into Mk. 12:35), 23:2, 24:23, besides the cases in 9:18, 20, 20:27 which are from Mk. (8:27, 29, 20:27) and eight times in Acts. Otherwise there is no evidence for Lucan style, as *τὰ ὑπάρχοντα* (21) is a Q word (Lk. 12:44, Mt. 24:47), and in Acts occurs only 4:32 (elsewhere in Lk. 8:3, 12:15, 14:33, 16:1, and in Mt. 19:21, 25:14). On the other hand, for the Greek of 21—22 the LXX of Is. 49:25 (*έάν τις αἰχμαλωτεύσῃ γίγαντα, λήμψεται σκῦλα· λαμβάνων δὲ παρὰ ισχύοντος σωθήσεται*) and Is. 53:12 (*καὶ τῶν ισχυρῶν μεριεὶ σκῦλα*) offers obvious parallels, accounting for *σκῦλα* (here only in the NT.) and for (*δια*)*μεριζεσθαι*, elsewhere in the Gospels only Mk. 6:41, Lk. 12:18. Finally, it may be noted that *καθοπλίζεσθαι* is found here only in the NT. and *πανοπλία* only here and Eph. 6:11, 13.

<sup>6</sup> Lk. 18b is an isolated statement not paralleled in either Mt. or Mk. Loisy (p. 704, Holtzm., p. 365) thinks it a reminiscence of Mk. 3:20 but it would be difficult to parallel such a misplaced and awkward reminiscence of Mk. in Lk. Jül. (p. 222) thinks that it is meant to clinch the argument of 18a but this hardly seems possible. Rather, it reads like an attempt to connect 18a and 19, helping the transition from the general truth to the more personal matter (perhaps helping also the transition from "Satan" to "Beezebul"). Its omission by Mt. is easier than its addition by Lk. and in Q it may well have arisen to join two sayings that belong to different occasions.

Lastly, the account of Mk. This is typically Marcan in style, with its repetition of the same words and phrases, the superfluous introduction question in 23b, the marring of the formal parallelism by *ἀλλὰ τέλος ἔχει* in 26, and the double negative in 27. Mk.'s motive in the use of some of these phrases may perhaps be divined. So in 23a the *ἐν παραβολαῖς* seems to prepare for ch. 4 (Nicol., p. 236),<sup>7</sup> 23b evidently is formed out of what follows (JüL., p. 222, Klost., p. 31, Nicol., p. 236), possibly (in part) to help the change from Beezebul in 22 to Satan in 26; and the *ἀλλὰ τέλος ἔχει* is to emphasize Christ's victory (JüL., p. 223, Nicol., p. 236,—with a particularly interesting note on p. 237). The removal of such phrases doubtless brings the narrative nearer to the source used by Mk. but, naturally, tells nothing as to the character (written or oral) of this source (or *sources*).

Comparing now Lk. and Mk. The only connected words in common are those at the beginning of Lk. 18 and Mk. 26 but even among these (*διεμερίσθη*) is the only one at all characteristic and this may be due in both cases to a reminiscence of Is. 53 12. Still a reminiscence of Mk. by Lk. is very possible, although the wide variation of the accounts and the disuse of Mk. by Lk. after 9:50 make it very unlikely that Lk. had Mk. open in front of him here.<sup>8</sup> In any case, however, a reverse dependence of Mk. on Lk.'s Greek source cannot be supported by this slight contact in wording.

The chief difference between Lk. 17b and Mk. 24—25 is in the use of "house." In Mk. the "house" is a *family* ("the smallest organism," JüL., p. 221, cf. J. Weiss, p. 94, Klost., p. 31,—"a political domain", Wellh., *Mk.*, p. 26), which, like a kingdom, falls if divided against itself. In Lk., however, the "house" is a *building* and the imagery of one building toppling over on the next illustrates the completeness of the desolation of the divided kingdom,—at least, this is the literal meaning of the Greek. One may question, however, if Lk. meant it to

<sup>7</sup> Loisy, however, thinks (p. 703) that the phrase was carried over from some earlier source.

<sup>8</sup> Hence Loisy's suggestion (p. 703),—that Lk. omitted *ἐν παραβολαῖς* as not justified by what follows,—is needless.

be so understood and, indeed, he may have changed *oikía* into *oikos* as a protection against such an interpretation. But at all events it cannot be original (Jüл., p. 222, Loisy, p. 704, —contra B. Weiss, p. 36), for the ruined houses are quite out of the picture. But is this variation due to Lk. or to the author of Q? The latter is distinctly the more probable, for an abbreviation that so perverts the sense would be quite contrary to Lk.'s usual method of procedure. Furthermore, it may be questioned whether even the author of Q meant the text to have the sense that the Greek now requires and it is more likely that, with the first illustration in mind, he abbreviated the second without noticing that he had changed the meaning.

In 21—22 Lk. contains a true parable told in the narrative form, while in Mk. 27 the corresponding matter is stated in an argumentative negation that makes it conform to the context. Moreover, Mk. lays the stress on the spoiling of the goods, while the point in Lk. is the superior power to enter and conquer (J. Weiss, *Ev.*, p. 168).<sup>9</sup> Hence the preference is to be given to Lk.'s version (B. Weiss, p. 36, J. Weiss, p. 432, Jüл., p. 227, Loisy, p. 707, Nicol., p. 237,—contra Holtz., p. 366). To detect evidence of redaction in Lk.'s version taken by itself is a delicate matter, especially, as has been said, as the two verses present no linguistic evidence of Lk.'s hand. Jüл., however (p. 229, followed by Loisy, p. 708, Nicol., p. 237), thinks that somewhere there has been enlargement from an original form, which stated simply something like "When a strong man is seen bound and plundered, ye know that a stronger than he has come upon him,"—all the other details being unnecessary. This, of course, hangs together with Jüл.'s "minimum" theory of the parables. But in the present case (at least) this theory seems to be pressed too rigorously, for the parable as it stands is certainly not over-long and the "unnecessary" details add considerably to the graphic effect.

<sup>9</sup> Jüл. (p. 221—222) notes that Q contains a general rule applied to a particular case rather than a true parable,—the *πᾶσα* in Lk. 17 (Mt. 25) is out of true parable style,—while Mk. contains two true parables. But this involves too strict a limitation of the possibilities of the parable form. On the other hand, Jüл. (p. 221) considers the *ἐρημοῦται* of Q preferable to the *οὐ δύναται στῆναι* of Mk.

Nor is it at all clear that these details have allegorical significance, as, for instance that the armor signifies the demons in which Satan trusted (so Jül., p. 228, apparently emphasizing some connection between *πανοπλία* and *πάντα δαιμόνια*,—cf. Loisy, p. 708) or that distributing the booty meant only returning the bodies of the exorcised into the control of their former owners.<sup>10</sup> Certainly when Loisy (p. 708) writes that Lk. understood the whole passage allegorically he assumes more than the text warrants and in any case this would not prove that the allegory was originally intended. On the other hand the use of the LXX of Is. 53 12 probably points to redaction in the Greek (Loisy, p. 708, refers this specifically to Lk. but the author of Q is quite as likely), but it is at least not impossible that a use of Is. in the Aramaic was recognized and rendered into Greek with the phraseology of the Greek version. Hence there seems to be no critical necessity for going back of the narrative about as it stands in Lk.

The development of Mk.'s account from something like Lk.'s account presents no difficulties. This, however, is a different matter from supposing a direct literary relation that would make Mk.'s account arise from a redaction of Q (so B. Weiss, p. 36 and *Mk. ad loc.*, J. Weiss, *Ev.*, pp. 168—169, Bacon, pp. 38—39, Nicol., p. 235). The two versions undoubtedly do go back to some common original but there is nothing to show that the Mk. and Lk. traditions touched after leaving that original,—in especial there is nothing to show that they have any relation in their Greek forms. The further (tentative) hypothesis of J. Weiss that Mk. is a combination of Q with Petrine Memoirs (*Ev.*, p. 169) is quite incapable of demonstration (cf. Nicol., p. 235).

That the eventual origin of these sayings should be traced back to Jesus seems not to be questioned. Wellh. alone (Mk., p. 26) is [suspicious of Mk. 27, on account of its "loose connection" and its emphasis on a positive fact while the context is concerned only with a negation. But this is too refined and at most affects only the place of the saying.

<sup>10</sup> B. Weiss (*Mt. ad loc.*) finds in the contrast a reference to the Temptation. This is even more artificial.

As to the non-Markan sections, the question is whether their present context is correct. That of Lk. 23 (Mt. 30) is almost certainly wrong, for it deals with impossibility of neutrality although the adversaries in the present context *desired* to be known as hostile (Jüл., p. 233, Klost., p. 243, Loisy, p. 708).<sup>11</sup> Nor is the position of Lk. 19—20 (Mt. 27—28) wholly satisfactory, for 18, 21, 22 form a single argument, while 19—20 deal with the subject from a different angle. Moreover, after 20 the “stronger one” of 22 should be the Kingdom of God,—i. e., there is an awkward change of subject. And again 18b is very clumsy and reads like an attempt to soften a transition.<sup>12</sup> Such arguments are, of course, not conclusive but they establish a certain degree of probability.<sup>13</sup> Loisy (p. 707,—cf. Montef., II, pp. 621—622) argues further that 19 and 20<sup>14</sup> do not belong together, as in one case Christ’s exorcisms are paralleled with those of the Jews while in the other their uniqueness is insisted on,—as the two verses stand at present the Jewish exorcisms could be taken as proofs of the advent of the Kingdom (similarly Jüл., p. 232, Wellh., *Mt.*, p. 62). But such a complete equation of the Jews’ exorcisms with Christ’s was scarcely to be apprehended (Klost., p. 243; cf. Holtzm., p. 68).<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Wellh. (*Mt.*, p. 62) notes, moreover, that the *έμω* is too restricted to suit the universal principle of the preceding verse.

<sup>12</sup> Holtzm. (p. 243,—cf. Loisy, p. 706, Nicol., p. 235) argues further that Mt. 27—28 disjoin *πῶς* in 26 and *ἢ πῶς* in 29. This is not relevant, however, for in 29 Mt. has returned to *Mk.* On the other hand, the change in Q from “Satan” to “Beezebul” may not be without significance.

<sup>13</sup> Bacon (pp. 43, 39, cf. Holtzm., p. 128) finds that *Mk.* has produced a more advanced Christology by dropping the references to the Spirit in Q, so that the miracles are referred to Christ’s personal power. If, however, Q has introduced these references from another context, Bacon’s comment loses relevancy.

<sup>14</sup> Mt. 28 is one of the few places in Mt. where *βασιλεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ* (not *—τῶν οὐρανῶν*) is used. Loisy, p. 707, thinks that a special source is indicated. But this is quite needless, the form of the phrase is due to *πνεύματι τοῦ θεοῦ* immediately preceding.

<sup>15</sup> B. Weiss (*Mt.*, *ad loc.*) argues for an entirely different interpretation that makes the comparison with “your sons” irony. This relieves the difficulty discussed above but is not very generally accepted. For a still different interpretation cf. Zahn (*Mt.*, *ad loc.*).

As to the historical origin of these non-Markan verses, in the case of 23 a question is raised by the contrast with Mk. 9 40. This contrast is very familiar, however, and needs no discussion. There is no real reason why both sayings should not be original (so most scholars,—cf. Montef., II, p. 622), while J. Weiss (p. 305) and Loisy (p. 708) prefer the version in Q (noting in particular the very artificial context of Mk. 9 40). Wellh. (*Einl.*, p. 62) is about the only dissenter, arguing that “gather” and “scatter” can be understood only of the “herd” (i. e., the *Church*) and that the *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* doctrine is prepared for. This argument, however, can scarcely be taken seriously. Against 19 can be urged that it proves too much,—an objection that has been discussed above. Loisy (p. 709) suggests that 19 has been founded on Mk. 9 38-39 (or the source of this passage), in view of such a narrative as that of Acts 19 13-17; the association with 20 being designed to distinguish between (p. 707) “the exorcisms of the Jews, performed in the name of God or Christ, and those which Jesus accomplished by means of the Spirit of God”. But this is entirely too obscure; Lk. 19 centers not around the Jewish exorcisms but around Beezebul as the supposed means of Christ’s exorcisms, and Loisy leaves unexplained how a Christian writer could have formed the verse in such a way as to shield the legitimacy of Christ’s exorcisms behind those of the Jews. This last comment seems decisive,—the tone of the verse is entirely contrary to the spirit of the Apostolic Age and the words must be referred to Jesus himself. Similarly Lk. 20 seems to run counter to Apostolic ideas, as it places the advent of the Kingdom back in the *lifetime* of Jesus. This is perhaps not impossible for Apostolic ideas (cf. J. Weiss, p. 305, Loisy, p. 707,—very tentatively) but it is certainly opposed to the ordinary NT. concepts which date the advent of the Kingdom (in as far as it was not thought to be wholly future) from the Resurrection or Crucifixion, but never from the beginning of the exorcisms. Certainly, again, the balance of probability favors Jesus as the source of these words.

The Lucan parallel to the verses that follow in Mk. (28—30) and Mt. (31—32) is in an entirely different context (L. 12 10)

but the relations between the three Evangelists are the same as those just discussed. Again Mt.'s text is a combination of Mk. and the source used by Lk. and again most of the differences between Mt.'s and Lk.'s wording have arisen in Mt. through this combination of sources. In place of Lk.'s future indicative in a general condition (an unusual construction, even if not precisely un-Greek) Mt. 32 has adopted Mk. 29's aorist subjunctive. Lk. has  $\tau\hat{\omega}$   $\epsilon\hat{i}s$   $\tau\hat{o}$   $\hat{a}\gamma\iota\omega$   $\pi\nu\hat{e}\mu\mu\alpha$   $\beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\phi\eta\mu\hat{\iota}\sigma\alpha\tau\iota$  but in 31 Mt. has already adopted  $\hat{\eta}$   $\tau\hat{o}\hat{u}$   $\pi\nu\hat{e}\mu\mu\alpha\tau\hat{o}$   $\beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\phi\eta\mu\alpha$  from Mk. 29 and consequently in 32 conforms the second clause to the first (and in so doing obscures the sense, for to "speak against the Spirit" need not mean quite as much as "blaspheme the Spirit"). The very awkward  $\lambda\hat{o}\gamma\omega\hat{s}$  in Lk. (due, apparently to the following  $\beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\phi\eta\mu\cdot\epsilon\hat{i}s$ ,—Acts 6 11 is the only approach to a NT. parallel) has been smoothed in  $\lambda\hat{o}\gamma\omega\hat{s}$   $\kappa\alpha\tau\hat{a}$  and Lk.'s  $\tau\hat{o}$   $\hat{a}\gamma\iota\omega$   $\pi\nu\hat{e}\mu\mu\alpha$  has yielded to Mk.'s  $\tau\hat{o}$   $\pi\nu\hat{e}\mu\mu\alpha$   $\tau\hat{o}$   $\hat{a}\gamma\iota\omega$ . On the other hand, Lk.'s fondness for participial constructions makes it probable that in place of  $\tau\hat{\omega}$   $\beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\phi\eta\mu\hat{\iota}\sigma\alpha\tau\iota$  Q had  $\pi\hat{a}\hat{s}$   $\hat{o}$   $\beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\phi\eta\mu\hat{\iota}\sigma\epsilon$  as in the first part of the verse. But, with this exception, a form of Q identical with that of Lk. explains perfectly the form of Mt. and is therefore to be postulated.

To compare Mt. with Mk. Between the parallels (29 and 31) to Mk. 27 and 28 Mt. has inserted a verse (30) from Q and consequently has changed Mk. 28's  $\hat{a}\mu\hat{\iota}\nu$  into  $\delta\hat{i}\alpha$   $\tau\hat{o}\hat{u}\tau\hat{o}$  (31). Mk.'s  $\hat{o}\tau\iota$  recitative is dropped. "Sons of men" is changed into "men," partly because the combination is very unusual and partly to avoid the contrast with "Son of Man" about to be introduced from Q. Mk. 28c is superfluous. Mt. 31c introduces  $\beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\phi\eta\mu\alpha$  to take up the same word immediately preceding, so replacing Mk. 29a's  $\beta\lambda\alpha\sigma\phi\eta\mu\hat{\iota}\sigma\hat{y}$ . After the insertion from Q in Mt. 31b—32b, Mk. 29b is expanded in Mt. 32c into a more solemn phrase (which avoids Mk.'s  $\alpha\hat{i}\hat{\omega}\nu\alpha$ — $\alpha\hat{i}\hat{\omega}\nu\iota\omega$ ). Mk. 30 is quite needless and is dropped. Hence all of Mt.'s variations from Mk. and Lk. are due to redactorial motives, making Mt. of no importance as independent testimony, and, as before, the problem reduces to a comparison of Mk. and Lk. (i. e., of Mk. and Q).

Mk., again, is thoroughly in the Evangelist's style and ends (30) with what is explicitly an editorial note that may be disregarded for the present. Wellh. (*Mk.*, p. 26, Kloster, p. 32, Montef., I, p. 117) calls attention to the disagreement of *ὅσα* with *βλασφημία*, arguing that *τὰ ὅμαρτήματα καὶ αἱ βλασφημία* may be an importation into Mk.'s text from Mt.'s. This is certainly possible but Mk. is not a strict enough writer to give such an argument great weight, while Mt.'s text is better explicable from Mk.'s as the latter now stands than it would be if these words were omitted. For the omission of *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* from Mk. 29 Wellh. (*Mk.*, p. 27) cites D and the Latin versions but, again, the words are in accord with Mk.'s prolix style and their omission is more easily explained than their addition. On the other hand, Mk. 28—29 certainly contain a badly drawn distinction between blasphemy in general and blasphemy against the Spirit, for blasphemy is not blasphemy except against God, and the Spirit (to the Jew) is simply a quality of God (cf. Wellh., *Mk.*, p. 27, Nicol., p. 241). Possibly Mk. has been influenced by Christian terminology, which admitted a distinction between "God" and "the Spirit" in a way that the Jewish did not. Finally the form of Mk. 28—29 is very clumsy, for in 28 a universal rule is laid down and amplified and then in 29 a vital exception is brought in an entirely new sentence.<sup>16</sup>

To compare now Mk. and Q. Nearly all of the Greek words in Q are found also in Mk. but these words are not at all characteristic and their order is entirely changed, as is the grammatical construction. Hence it is impossible to prove that the two versions are derived from the same *Greek* source,<sup>17</sup>

<sup>16</sup> Perhaps Mk. 29c is due to Mk.'s "hardening" theory (Nicol., p. 241, —cf. J. Weiss, p. 95).

<sup>17</sup> E. g., Loisy (p. 711) thinks that Mk. has simply glossed Q. More generally, for the dependence of Mk. on Q, Loisy (p. 710) and Nicol. (p. 239) argue that Mk. 30 uses *ἀκάθαρτον πνεῦμα* very abruptly at the close of a passage that has spoken entirely of "Beezebul" and "Satan." This new phrase, however, could be explained readily if Mk. were using a document in which the next verse was Lk. 11 15 (Mt. 12 24), for then Mk. simply closed his redaction of one passage with the opening words from the next. It might be added, also, that there is a curious parallelism

although that they are derived from a common source of some kind is obvious. Now, if this source is to be identified with either of the present forms, the priority of Q to Mk. seems critically certain. For Q uses blasphemy in accord with Jewish terminology, while Mk. does not. Q states two distinct offences in clear terms, while Mk. is very confused. And,—most important,—the evolution of Mk. from Q would be in accord with Apostolic feeling, while the reverse development would be almost impossible. For Mk., who regarded a man's attitude towards Christ as determining that man's eternal destiny (Mk. 8 38, etc.), naturally classed words against Christ among the most heinous offences possible. Yet he wished to use a saying that singled out words against Christ as pardonable. The difficulty was resolved by including such words in “sins and blasphemies” of every sort,—they were pardonable in the sense that any blasphemy against God might be pardonable. In this way the sense of the original seemed to be preserved conscientiously, while an echo of the phraseology of Q was kept in the unique and almost impossible phrase “the sons of the men.” This process is clear enough. On the other hand, if Q is supposed secondary, it becomes necessary to assume that a Christian writer undertook to minimize the offence of speaking against the Lord and for this purpose modified an entirely general statement so as to introduce this teaching explicitly. Such a procedure seems incomprehensible and equally incomprehensible would be the general reception of the document that was so produced. Consequently the priority of Q appears assured (so B. Weiss, J. Weiss, p. 96, Loisy, p. 711, Bacon, p. 39, Nicol, p. 241).

between Mk. and Q in that at the beginning both narratives (Mk. 3 22 and Lk. 11 24 = Mt. 12 43) speak of “Beezebul” and then change abruptly to “Satan”,—in fact, Mk.’s isolated mention of “Beezebul” is as strange as his *πνεῦμα ἀκάθαπτον* and may be used similarly as indicating a use of Q. But, in the face of the wide divergence of the texts of Mk. and Q in the passage proper, these arguments are inconclusive,—the most they need mean is that Mk. had read Q and remembered some of it. This is, in fact, more than probable (in other parts of Mk. a close use of Q seems certain) but it is very different from the supposition that in this section Mk. was acting simply as the (free) editor of a document.

These considerations seem ignored in the counter-argument of Wellh. (*Einl.*, p. 66,—cf. Klost., p. 244, Montef., I, p. 117). Wellh.'s chief point is that Q is self-contradictory, for the blasphemy against the Spirit consists in words against the Son of Man, so that the assumed two offences are really only one. But this overlooks the fact that the present instance is only a particular case of a much wider principle and that the very point here lies in the coincidence of the two offences (cf., especially, J. Weiss, pp. 96, 305). Although the words are against the Son of Man it is not for that reason but because they are *also* against the Spirit that they are unpardonable. Wellh. argues further that the general "sons of men" in Mk. has become reduced in Q to the particular "Son of Man" and then the latter has been set in relation to "blasphemy" instead of to "forgive." The evolution must have gone this way, for the reverse process would be unthinkable. But the above discussion has shown that it is not only entirely thinkable but that it is the only change that accords with what is known of the trend of tradition. As a third argument, Wellh. writes that blasphemy can be directed only against God, while "the Son of Man is not God." The point of this, however, is difficult to catch, for Q does *not* say "blasphemy against the Son of Man" in either Mt.'s or Lk.'s version,—as Wellh. goes on to state explicitly. Evidently none of these arguments can weigh against those on the other side.

There remains the possibility that both the Mk. and the Q versions have been developed from some common source. For such a source Wellh. (*Einl.*, p. 67,—cf. Klost., p. 32) suggests the text of Mk. with the singular  $\tau\varphi\ \nu\iota\hat{\nu}\ \tau\o\iota\hat{\nu}\ \dot{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\o\iota\hat{\nu}$  in place of the plural,—the singular, of course, meaning simply "man."<sup>18</sup> A misinterpretation of this as "Son of Man" led to the pluralization in Mk. by some later editor and to the paraphrase in Q. But this is simply hypothesis (cf. Loisy, p. 711). Moreover it leaves unexplained why Mk. did not write  $\dot{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\varphi$  or  $\dot{\alpha}\nu\theta\rho\omega\pi\o\iota\hat{\nu}$

<sup>18</sup> Wellh. (*Einl.*, p. 67) compares Mk. 2 10. 28. But these passages are hardly relevant, for in both *Mark* certainly understood the phrase in a Messianic sense and so could hardly have used it differently here (on 2 10 cf. Wellh., *Mk.*, p. 16).

in the first place, as elsewhere, and in no way simplifies the difficulty of deriving the Q form from the Marcan,—in fact, it removes the Q form even further from its supposed origin. Other attempts to recover an original form of the saying have ignored the Marcan version and have sought simply to go back of that in Q. But, such attempts, naturally, go outside of the passage itself for their motives and rest on deductions drawn from other passages as to what was or was not possible in the mouth of Jesus. So, for instance, the proposal of J. Weiss (p. 305) to find back of "Son of Man" an original "me." Such a purely mechanical change, of course, could not be detected in the passage taken by itself and is due only to a doubt as to whether Jesus ever used "Son of Man" as a self-designation Loisy (pp. 711—712,—cf. Nicol., p. 240) thinks that "the distinction introduced between the Son of Man and the Spirit appears to have a theological character, by opposing, as it were, the humanity of the Saviour to his divinity, the exterior of his activity to the supernatural principle of his works." Consequently, the original perhaps ran "whosoever shall say a word against any son of man— —," which Q misrendered "the Son of Man,"—without causing offence because a distinction was made between Jesus as man and the Spirit of God which was in him. But this either leaves Mk.'s extraordinary paraphrase unexplained or else requires a very literal use by Mk. of the Greek Q (something, in fact, that Loisy defends). Moreover, if "son of man" were simply the ordinary expression for "man,"—as the translator of Q must have known perfectly well,—the retention of "son of" in the Greek is inexplicable. But, moreover, —and chiefly,—Loisy seems to have raised a difficulty where none exists. There is no theological subtlety whatever in the saying and Jesus certainly could have drawn the distinction quite as naturally as any later writer,—and with much less offence. Such a search for an original form of the saying will be justified only when the demonstration has been completed that Jesus did not use "Son of Man" as a self-designation—and this demonstration is as yet very far from complete.<sup>19</sup> The most

<sup>19</sup> On the linguistic side of the question the following words of Wellh. (*Einf.*, p. 130) are worth quoting:—"Schon die jerusalemischen Christen

that has been done is to show that the title does not belong in certain passages and to suggest processes (of which suggestions the above are very fair examples) by which the title *could* have crept into the remaining passages. But this is a very different matter from showing that the title *did* so creep into such passages.

Finally, as to the original context of the saying. The meaning in Lk. is far from clear and the exegesis of Lk. 12 9-12 is notoriously difficult. On the surface the passage is very confused,<sup>20</sup> for in 9 denial of Christ is not pardonable while according to 10 pardon can be extended to words spoken against him,—only blasphemy against the Spirit being unpardonable. And then in 11—12 an entirely abrupt change seems to be made to the Spirit as inspiring defence when on trial. Wellh. (*Einl.*, p. 66) finds different classes of men in 10a (non-Christians) and 10b (Christians). Then the passage becomes something like this:—(9) Denial of me will be punished by condemnation. (10) But by “denial” is not meant any word spoken against me, —such words may be uttered through ignorance (cf. Acts 3 19). If, however, they are spoken by those having the illumination of the Spirit they are unpardonable (cf. Heb. 10 29). (11—12) The offence is all the greater as the Spirit can be trusted to carry one through the trial. This is good Apostolic theology and is very plausible. An alternative, perhaps simpler, is to suppose that both clauses of 10 refer to unbelievers. “Not all of those who attack Christ are past hope,—but some of them are. It is only the latter who will resist your defence and on them will be visited the severest condemnation” (cf. Montef., II, p. 953). In either case the passage is altogether too complicated to account for the *formation* of 10 and too complicated, also, for the original context of this verse,—that there is a “mosaic” here is evident.

But was this mosaic formed first in Lk. or in Q? Most scholars hold that Lk. first made the combination (B. Weiss,

werden das spezifische barnascha von dem gewöhnlichen barnascha unterschieden haben.”

<sup>20</sup> It is hard to see how Nicol. (p. 238) can think the Lucan order natural.

p. 36, J. Weiss, p. 434, Holtzm., p. 370, Loisy, p. 710,<sup>21</sup> Montef., p. 953). But this does not follow simply from the fact (alone urged by most of these scholars) that Lk.'s present narrative is obviously artificial. If Q be supposed to have established the present connection, it is only necessary to assume that the verse had been already applied to the adversaries of Christianity in the oral tradition, which Q simply followed,—Lk. using Q here without Mk. If, on the other hand, Lk. be supposed to have established the connection, then it is necessary to assume that he violated the order of *both* his *written* sources, removed the verse from a place where it fitted perfectly, held it (so to speak) in mid-air, and finally deposited it in an entirely different passage where it not only seemed to be out of relation to the context but to contradict the preceding verse. The first supposition is vastly preferable.<sup>22</sup> Moreover, if Q originally ran as it stands in Lk. 12 2-12, it is easy to understand the formation of the parallel parts of Mt. (ch. 10,—cf. Nicol., pp. 237—240), especially if Q continued beyond Lk. 12 12 as in Mt. 10 21-22. After Mt. 10 16, Mt. turned to this Q passage and began to copy it at the point (Mt. 10 17 = Lk. 12 11) where it would yield a good connection and continued to copy until he had reached the end of the section in Q. Then, after adding two or three verses (Mt. 10 23-25<sup>23</sup> or 24-25) taken perhaps from some other part<sup>24</sup> of Q, he returned (10 26) to the beginning of the section whose latter part he had copied and started to copy the remainder (10 26-33). When he had completed 10 33 (Lk. 12 9), however, he recognized that the next verse (Lk. 12 10) was in a different and better context in Mk. and consequently omitted

<sup>21</sup> Noting, however, that the other alternative may be possible.

<sup>22</sup> If this is right, then a literary use of Q by Mk. involves assuming that Mk. went to an entirely different section of Q to find a saying for the close of his narrative. But even this is less difficult than supposing the reverse process in Lk.

<sup>23</sup> There is considerable reason to think that Mt. 10 23 stood after 10 22 in Q and that this was its original place.

<sup>24</sup> Nicol. (p. 234), however, thinks that these verses all stood in Q in their present Matthaean context. From this he argues again for Mk.'s use of Q, claiming that the Βεβεβούλ ἐχει is an echo of Mt. 10 24-25 (Lk. 6 40). But too many suppositions are involved.

this verse here. Lk., however, in 12 2-12 simply copied Q just as it stood, with some abbreviation of the matter<sup>25</sup> now in Mt. 10 17-18, and after completing 12 12 omitted the remainder of the Q section as unsuited to the present context. This is a very simple explanation and is probably correct.

This, naturally, does not show that Mk.'s context is correct,—something, indeed, that is quite incapable of proof. But the observation of Loisy (p. 712) seems entirely just:—"In whatever occasion Jesus may have spoken of blasphemy against the Spirit, he must have had his own works in view; and the expulsion of evil spirits being the work that was best adapted for this declaration, the combination of the two first Evangelists should have the sort and the degree of truth that is desirable in such matters."

Summarizing:—In the passage discussed Lk. represents practically a transcript of Q. Q, in turn, apart from slight touches, contains the oldest recoverable form of the sayings recorded in it and all of these sayings may, with a high degree of probability, be assigned to Jesus himself. But that they were all uttered on a single occasion does not follow,—the saying in Lk. 11 23 is almost certainly out of place and those in Lk. 11 19-20 may also belong to some other occasion. The saying in Lk. 12 10 was placed in its present Lucan context by the author of Q. Mk. has given a freer version of certain of these sayings. This version shows Marcan touches but there is no particular evidence to show that Mk.'s version is derived from a redaction of Q (even in the Aramaic and still less in the Greek). In especial Mk.'s position for the saying in Lk. 12 10 is much better than that assigned to it in Q. Mt., finally, worked together the narratives in Q and Mk., following Mk. rather than Q for the place of the saying in Lk. 12 10, and contributes nothing independent to the evidence.

<sup>25</sup> An expansion of Q in Mt. 10 17-18 is less likely. But in no case are Mt. 10 17-20 = Lk. 12 11-12 derived from Mk. 13 11, against which they agree in both the position of the saying and in its Greek wording.



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## Note on Hosea 1—3

C. H. TOY

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.

IT is generally agreed that Hos. 4—14 (omitting the Judah passages, 14 10, parts or the whole of 14 2-9, and a few other insertions) is a unity; material and tone are substantially the same throughout. But there is room for doubt whether chaps. 1—3 belong with the rest of the book, for, while, like all pre-exilic prophetic writings, the two parts have in common dissatisfaction with the existing condition of religion, the differences between them are great. The contrast between the connected discourse and smooth flowing style of chap. 2 and the isolated paragraphs and exclamatory sentences of 4—14 is obvious. The two differ also in the material that interests them: in 4—14 there is a survey of the whole state of affairs in the northern kingdom—the bull-worship, the ignorance of the priests, the corruption of the royal court, the foreign relations are denounced; in 1—3 it is the worship of the local baals that excites the writer's indignation. These differences cannot be accounted for by the supposition that the two parts were composed at different periods in one man's life. In the books of Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel we have series of discourses extending over many years, but the treatment, tone and style remain the same throughout in each book.<sup>1</sup> The sharp variations in Hosea point naturally to difference of authorship.

<sup>1</sup> Only genuine material, of course, is here considered.

But the first part, chaps. 1—3, seems not to be a unity. The central discourse, chap. 2, has references to a future reconstruction that suggest the hand of an exilic or post-exilic editor, and the same thing is true of 3 5.<sup>2</sup> The promise in 2 1 stands isolated; it connects neither with the preceding nor with the succeeding context, and is a late addition.<sup>3</sup> Another fragment is 2 3, which presupposes a discourse that has not been preserved.

The two paragraphs describing symbolical actions, 1 2-6. 8f., 3, appear to be independent productions, connected organically neither with chap. 2 nor with each other. In the first of these the prophet is commanded by Yahweh to marry a lewd woman, and three children are born of the marriage; the first child is said (v. 3) to be Hosea's, not illegitimate, and the connection conveys the impression that the other two also were considered to be born in lawful wedlock. After v. 2 there is no reference to the character of the woman—the interest is all in the children. The name of the first child, Jezreel, is given not a religious but a political significance;<sup>4</sup> the fall of the Jehu dynasty is regarded as imminent (the date is thus indicated). The other names express the rejection of Israel by Yahweh; the isolated statement of 2 3 ('say to your brethren<sup>5</sup> Ammi and to your sister<sup>5</sup> Ruhamah') is identical in sense with 2 25, and is somehow connected with the preceding.

In 1 2-9 the wife seems to be introduced simply for the purpose of accounting for the children; symbolical names of children were desired and the natural preliminary was a marriage. As the wife represents the unfaithful nation, it was natural that she should be described as lewd; yet the calm tone of the story is noticeable. The names convey in themselves no slur on wife or children; the procedure is similar to that of Isaiah (Isa. 8 1-4). There is no trace of emotion, no love, indignation or sorrow.

<sup>2</sup> The clause 'and David their king' is omitted by some critics.

<sup>3</sup> The next verse (describing the future of the two kingdoms) is probably from a still different Judean hand.

<sup>4</sup> The name has a different signification in 2 24 and 2 2.

<sup>5</sup> The Septuagint has 'brother' and 'sister,' which readings should perhaps be adopted.

The romantic history of a man wounded in his deepest feelings through an ill-fated marriage that saddened his life and colored his thought seems to me to have no foundation in the text. If there had been passionate devotion and sorrow, there would doubtless have been some mention of it, but there is none; the narrative is a quiet statement of facts. Nor is the supposition of an unfortunate marriage necessary to explain the tender tone that appears in parts of 4—14 or the conception of Yahweh as a god who loved his people; a man of tender and loving nature might, without a crushing marital experience, think of the national deity as loving, and might, as a patriot, grieve over the decadence and misfortunes of his country.<sup>6</sup>

The woman of chap. 3 is, as it seems to me, not the same with her of chap. 1; the *mise en scène* and the aim are different in the two narratives.<sup>7</sup> There we have a marriage with an unchaste woman and the birth of children, setting forth the Israelitish worship of alien deities and the consequent wrath of Yahweh; here it is the purchase of an unchaste slave-girl who is to be secluded, not allowed to be wife to her (unnamed) purchaser or to any man, the lesson being Israel's coming deprivation of all the national apparatus of religion, that is, the destruction of the national life by exile. The woman is not the Gomer of the first chapter, for she has been living with a paramour, and nothing is said of the former wife's having been made a slave. There is no expression of sentiment in the story, the transaction is official and business-like; the girl is used simply as a symbol. The two narratives are similar figurative representations independent each of the other, and it is unnecessary to attempt to harmonize them.

The section chaps. 1—3 is a mass of separate prophetic productions, originating in different periods, and put together, as was the manner of scribes, by a late editor who made no vigorous attempt at coherency. The hands of editors are recogniz-

<sup>6</sup> So Jeremiah, who was unmarried.

<sup>7</sup> The שׁר of 31 is intended to connect this episode with that of the first chapter; but this is a well-known editorial device for combining a later paragraph with an earlier. Perhaps the awkward sentence beginning בְּדָבָר תְּחִלָּת (1 2) owes its origin to the same desire.

able throughout the section, and this fact, together with the curtness and vagueness of some of the expressions, makes it difficult to discover the chronological relations between the paragraphs. There has been, perhaps, an interchange of influence. In the original form of chap. 2 (which is of the eighth century) Yahweh is the husband of the adulterous Israel, and the marriage in chap. 1 may be merely the dramatization of this idea; or, the imitation may have been in the opposite direction. It is not necessary indeed to suppose borrowing in either direction; the two descriptions may have come from a common fund of thought. But the juxtaposition of the two suggests some relation between them, and the precedence should, probably, be given to the ordinary prophetic style of chap. 2 rather than to the somewhat confused symbolism of the first chapter. On the other hand the designation of the land of Israel as 'Jezreel' (2 24), the land made productive by the favor of Yahweh, may be designed to do away with the bloody Jezreel and the terrible threat of 1 5; and the 'Ammi' of 2 3. 25 and the 'Ruhamah' of 2 3 may be a reply to the negations of 1 6. 9. But these and other such details can hardly be fixed with certainty.

The statement in 1 2 that Hosea's marriage was contracted by command of Yahweh is the conventional prophetic way of claiming divine authority for words and deeds. It proves only (supposing that a real marriage took place) that the writer of the section held such a procedure to be permissible by Yahweh. The text says distinctly that the marriage was an actual fact not a vision or a figure of speech; but it is possible that v. 2 is the work of an editor who ascribed to an old prophet what he would not have done himself, just as Deut. 20 16f. enjoins for the time of the conquest a procedure that was impossible in the seventh century.

Though the author of chaps. 4—14 cannot be considered to be the author of chap. 2 or the actor in the episodes of chaps. 1 and 3, the several parts of 1—3 throw light on the religious conceptions of various periods. The people are described as being, in the eighth century, completely devoted to the worship of the local deities. Yahweh is thought of as a jealous god

without the alternations of tenderness and severity that appear in 4—14. The hope of future national revival is connected with the anticipation of the political union of the two parts of the nation (Ezekiel's expectation). If the procedures of chaps. 1 and 3 are real, they indicate a curious liberty of symbolic action that certain prophets allowed themselves; but possibly they are pure inventions.

## Studies in the Diction of the Psalter

## First Article

WALDO S. PRATT

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

THE purpose of these Studies is not to discuss afresh the whole critical problem of the Psalter, but to present certain facts bearing upon that problem which seem not to have attracted much notice, though apparently of some importance. It is proposed simply to give summaries of certain phenomena in the vocabulary and lexical usage of the Psalter, and to consider questions as to their possible relation to its literary history.

Much of the matter to be presented is statistical, involving close attention to minutiae, and the entire discussion belongs to a class of critical investigations that is not always highly esteemed for other reasons than its intricacy. It is only fair to say that the pursuit of this kind of inquiry, certainly on so extensive a scale, was not originally in the writer's mind. As it was taken up for experiment, however, and subjected to prolonged testing, it has seemed to have enough validity and suggestiveness to warrant pressing it to conclusions, so that its results may be compared with those reached in other ways.

The tendency of Psalter commentation has been to be strongly subjective. This does not mean that it has usually been dominated by an obtrusive personal bias or prejudice, though these have not always been avoided, but simply that, owing to the inherent peculiarities of the problem, much has been made of presuppositions or assumptions, or, at least, of canons derived from the critic's mere feeling or instinct. The trained instinct is surely a valuable implement of research, but it commands confidence only when exercised in close contact with the ob-

served facts and with all the facts that merit observation. Our main object here is to add to the store of such facts. These, if correctly recorded and fairly appraised, lead on toward conclusions. Whether the inferences that are here suggested are reasonable remains to be seen. All that is claimed for these Studies is that they represent an attempt to pursue a course of genuinely scientific induction, with emphasis always upon objective phenomena as basal to and directive of the reasoning.

It is surprising that no elaborate studies seem to have been made in the vocabulary and diction of the Psalter. The fact that the Psalter is apparently a composite collection would naturally suggest such studies, since delicate lexical tests have often proved helpful in analyzing diverse materials. In applying these, it is important to remember that the compositeness of the Psalter probably has several aspects. Different poems may come from very different sources. Whole groups of poems may represent periods and circumstances. Individual poems may be made up of independent sections, or may have been subjected to considerable emendation or interpolation. The detection and classification of these heterogeneous materials should not be left to critical intuition, but, if possible, should be connected with some line of objective analysis. Although lexical tests are seldom demonstrative, yet they supply invaluable hints that may be taken as a basis of argument.

These Studies will be confined to the following topics:—  
(a) Some general summaries of the Psalter vocabulary, with notes on the relative frequency of the words and on their distribution among the poems and groups of poems; (b) A special investigation of what will be called the "liturgical" vocabulary, with inferences from its distribution;<sup>1</sup> (c) A similar treatment of the vocabulary of the "David" poems; (d) A similar treatment of the Elohistic division of the collection; (e) Some notes upon other topics more or less involved in the foregoing.

<sup>1</sup> The main points in the discussion of the first two topics have already been embodied in an article in the *Journal of Theological Studies* for January, 1913. These are here restated with greater elaboration of some details, so as to be directly accessible for comparison with similar details under the other topics.

In vocabulary studies it is usually necessary first of all to try to establish a rectified text. Particularly would this seem indispensable in the case of the Psalter, the text of which is rather notoriously doubtful in many places. Yet, for the precise purposes here in view, this extremely difficult task can be largely avoided, since it proves that most of the corrections that would most naturally be made have but slight effect upon the statistics that are chiefly used, and since, when it is a cardinal principle to eliminate subjective factors, the very subjective process of textual emendation is out of place, certainly at the outset. When one is seeking for clues as to the history of the received text as it stands, any emendation runs the risk of obliterating or distorting significant evidence.

There is, I think, no satisfactory separate vocabulary of the Psalter. Hence the student must either make it up direct from the text, or collate it from trustworthy general concordances. In the present case the latter course was followed, and this has proved satisfactory for the immediate purposes.<sup>2</sup>

If we omit the captions, the four benedictions at the end of Bks. I—IV, סלה, and the inseparables, the ordinary text of the Psalter comprises about 18,400 words.<sup>3</sup> In examining the distribution of certain words, it is useful, also, to set aside the formulae הלויה (at the opening or close of a poem) and כי לעולם חסדך (as in Ps. 136).

As ordinarily counted, the vocabulary from which the text is made up contains about 2,150 words, though, of course, opinions would vary as to how far closely related forms should be separated or combined. In estimating this total, also, considerable variation would result as soon as corrections or emendations of the text were admitted. For preliminary purposes,

<sup>2</sup> In English there are two Vocabularies, that of Arthur S. Fiske (Hartford, privately printed, 1887) and that of George A. Alcock (London, Elliot Stock, 1903). The former is a mere word-list, without citation of passages; it is almost complete and very accurate. The latter aims to cite all the passages and furnish some other information, but is defective and not above criticism in other regards.

<sup>3</sup> Inseparables combined with a pronoun, so as to make a separate word, appear in about 470 cases, raising the above total towards 19,000.

however, it proves convenient and safe to use the ordinarily accepted list as it stands.

A very large number of these words occur but a few times each. Thus nearly 900 are found only in single poems, and about 1,000 more occur in not more than twelve poems. There are about 235 words that occur with relative frequency—in more than twelve poems. Throughout the present study these latter are called "common," while the rest are called "rare." Taken by themselves, the "common" words make up about 68 % of the entire text and the "rare" words about 32 %.

The gradation from words that are "common" to those that are "rare" is, of course, continuous. Where to draw the line between the two classes is a question, and any separation must be arbitrary. The fixing of the dividing-point at *twelve* poems was made after considerable experimentation, and seems to have practical utility.

Classification by the number of *poems* in which the words occur, rather than by the total number of occurrences, is obviously wise, since mere repetitions within a given poem are much less significant than appearances in independent poems. Exact arrangement, however, is made difficult by the fact that "doublets" of the same passages are found, for which in some cases allowance ought to be made.

For convenience of reference, we here insert the list of "common" words, as thus secured, arranging them, as nearly as may be, in ten groups, beginning with those found in the largest number of poems, and ending with those found in only thirteen poems (these latter lying close to the arbitrary line drawn between "common" and "rare" words):

A	B	C	D	E
In 57—130 poems	41—54 poems	33—40 poems	27—32 poems	24—26 poems
אָל	אָדָם	בְּטֹהָ	אָוְנִי	אָהָב
אֱלֹהִים	אָבָ	בֵּית	אִישָׁ	אָם
אָמֵר	אָזָן	בָּרֶךָ	אָמָתָ	גַּם
אָרֶץ	אָלָ	גַּנוּ	אָפָ n.	הַמָּ
אָתָה (acc.)	אָלָ	דָּרָךְ	דָּכָרָ	הַנֶּהָ
אָפָה	אָנָיָ	הָוָא	הָוָרָ	יִתְהָ
הַיִהָה	אָשָׁר	הָלָן	הָרָ	יַלְדָ
יִדָּ	בָּוָא	הָלָן II.	יִכְרָ	יִםָּ
יִדְעָ	בָּנָ	חַיָּה n.	זָמָרָ	יַעֲקֹבָ
יִהְוָה	הָבָרָ	יַרְאָ v.	יִמְנָ	לְבָבָ
יּוֹם	חָפָרָ	יִשְׂרָאֵל	יִצְאָ	מָאָדָ
כִּי	טוֹב adj.	יְשֻׁוָּה	לְשֹׁוֹן	טוֹעָן

A	B	C	D	E
In 57—130 poems	41—54 poems	33—40 poems	27—32 poems	24—26 poems
כל	ירדה	ישע	מי	מעשה
לא	ישב	כבוד	נגיד	נטה
לב	מה	coon	גצל	כפל
נפש	עד conj.	מים	ספר	عبد
נתן	עין	מלך	עו	עבר
עולם	פה	משפט	צדיק	עפוד
על	I. קרא	נשא	נדק	I. ענה
עם	ר	אם	צין	ריגל
עשה	רשע	קדש	I. ראש	n. רוח
פנה	שחת	קול	רומ	שם
ראה	שימים	קום	שנא	
שם	שםע	רב	שב	
			שמר	
F	G	H	I	J
In 21—23 poems	19—20 poems	16—18 poems	14—15 poems	13 poems
אבד	אכל	איבון	אָהָל	אָב
נון	אשר	n. אוֹר	אָנוֹן	אָוֹר v.
און	את prep.	אנוש	אָרְפָּconj.	ברית
אשר	בוש	בל	פִּין	גבורה
נדול	בקש	גיל	פְּקָר	זיה
תנן	חספה	דם	בְּשָׁר	חַמְּה
חרדר	ירא adj.	דרש	פְּלָל	חרפה
יה	ירד	וואת	חַיָּה v.	כגנו
כן adv.	ישר	חשב	חַפֵּץ v.	כסה
לילה	כמו	n. מות	חַרְבָּה	v. מות
עוֹנוֹ	כפ	מן	יְשָׁעָה	מרום
עליה	موظ v.	גִּנְדֵּר	כְּלָא	מרמה
אני	מלא v.	גַּתְּהָה	לְחָם	גָּהָר
פָּלָא	סְתָר	עֹוד	מָנָן	נְצָחָה
פָּעֵיל	עד n.	פתח	מִצָּא	נְצָר
זכקה	עליוֹן	II. צר	נְבָט	עֹוב
צראה	עת	שְׁכָר	נְחָה	עַצְמָה
רנן	צור	שְׁכָחָה	סְכִיב	עַתָּה
שפה	קרב	שְׁבִּן	עֹזֶר	צָאן
v. שר	שבע	שְׁלָם	עִיר	צֹוֹה
v. שת	שלום	שם	צְבָא	רְנָה
שלחה	תפליה	תמר	רְדָרָג	II. רְעָעָה
שפט			שָׁאֹל	תְּחִתָּה
התלה			שָׁקָר	

Average total number of occurrences of each word:—

A. 190 B. 75 C. 56 D. 44 E. 35 F. 29 G. 25 H. 22 I. 19 J. 17

Taken together, these 236 words occur about 12,275 times, averaging over 50 times for each word.

If the purpose here were the drafting of a critically satisfactory vocabulary, the above list would need considerable sifting, and various questions as to meaning and usage would at once present themselves. But it will be found that even so rough a list as this can be employed for certain forms of analysis without danger of serious error. One of the first things to be examined is the question whether a separation cannot be made (by the use of objective criteria) between those parts of the Psalter that are relatively peculiar, individual or singular and those that are relatively conventional or formal. In some way we need to get at a standard within the Psalter itself. This standard can be tentatively determined by using the above list of "common" words as a basis for statistical analyses.

There is wide variation among the poems as to the proportion in their text of the words here called "rare." If they were all of about the same texture, the proportion of "rare" words would not be far from 33 % in all cases. But, on examination, we find that some poems show much higher percentages than this, rising in a few cases above 50, while others show very low percentages, falling in one case to 0. Of course, where the percentage of "rare" words is high, that of "common" words is low, and *vice versa*. And not only is there variation in the percentages, but the distribution of the poems that are "strong" (in "rare" words) and those that are "weak" is suggestive. The only way to exhibit this latter point is through some sort of diagram, but the mere figures of the percentages can be set down in a table, as follows:

Percentages of Rare Words in the Several Psalms.

%	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
52	—	58, 60, 65	—	—	—
48	—	—	—	—	129
46	19	—	—	91	—
45	—	51	—	—	—
43	2	45, 68	—	—	150
42	23	—	78, 83	—	107, 114, 137
41	—	—	—	—	108, 132, 139

%	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
40	17, 39	—	76, 80	104	144, 147
39	11, 18, 35	69	—	—	124
38	8, 40	—	73, 77	106	126, 149
37	—	64	—	105	110
36	22	50, 70	74, 88, 89	93, 94	119
35	6	55, 72	75, 79	90	127
34	10	62	—	—	—
33	7	—	81	—	—
32	15, 29, 32, 38	44, 49	—	92, 102	109, 122
31	5, 12, 37	42, 46, 63	87	103	140
30	1, 16, 26, 31, 36	57, 59	—	—	133, 141
29	—	48	—	—	142
28	25	—	82	101	116, 148
27	4, 20	43, 52	84	95, 98	111, 112, 120
26	9, 30, 33	71	—	96	123
25	13, 27	—	—	—	—
24	28, 41	53	—	100	128, 146
23	21	—	—	97	131, 135
22	—	61, 66	85	99	113, 121
21	14	56	—	—	130, 145
20	24	—	—	—	136, 143
19	34	47	—	—	118, 125
18	3	54	—	—	117
13	—	67	86	—	115, 138
0	—	—	—	—	134

Merely a glance at the poems whose percentages are high is enough to identify them as among the most individual in the collection. For this reason they are not readily arranged in groups or classes, and, as wholes, they present no marked similarities to poems further down the list.

But the case is different with the poems whose percentages are low. Here we find a considerable amount of conventionality in expression, as well as general similarities of topic and spirit. In most cases we should naturally call the prevailing style "liturgical," and this designation has so great convenience that it may be adopted, with the proviso, however, that it may need further definition. This general style is not at all confined to the poems that are "weak" in "rare" words. It appears more or less in those that are moderately "strong," but it is there intermingled with other material in such a way that the proportion of "rare" words becomes considerable. In other words, in the middle of the list there are many cases in which passages that are individual and peculiar are closely combined with those that are relatively commonplace or, at least, common in the Psalter.

At all events, the method by which the above summaries are derived justifies us in saying that whatever qualities are dominant in the poems toward the bottom of the list are somewhat characteristic of the Psalter as a whole. What we are here calling "conventional" is that which is so in the Psalter, not in other forms of literature. What this consists in will be seen more clearly in the sequel. If it proves to be like what is ordinary in any literature, it is one thing. But if it is special and unusual, then it is another. In the latter case, the question will at once arise, Is this characteristic feature, or class of features, in the Psalter essential to all Psalter poetry as such, or is it due to conditions incident to the progressive shaping of the collection into its present form? It is clear that discussing this question is likely to shed light upon the history of the book.

It is obvious that the grading of whole poems as to the proportion of "rare" words in them is only the first step in the analysis. If we concede the possibility—rather, the probability—that many or most of the poems are internally composite, we naturally seek for some practicable way of sifting their contents into "strong" and "weak" classes. In some cases it has become customary to recognize divisions of poems into independent sections, as, for example, in 19 and 144. In other cases much difference of opinion exists as to whether or not independent sections are to be considered, and, if so, just what are their limits. The study of this matter is liable to become involved in just those subjective influences that we are here trying to avoid.

But the division of the poems into *verses* seems, on the whole, to be one that can be utilized without much risk of error. Though this division, as intimated through the system of accents and usually made sure by the rhetorical expression of the thought, may be open to some question, it at least far antedates the era of modern criticism, and seems to go back to the period of the editing of the collection. Accordingly, we need not hesitate to experiment with these smallest units to see whether they differ significantly among themselves in regard to the frequency of "rare" words. Through this study we may be able

to get helpful suggestion as to the problem of sections within the poems.

Remembering that normally there is about one "rare" word in every three, and allowing for the varying length of the verses, it appears at once that the 2,455 verses in the Psalter (omitting captions and benedictions) differ much in the proportion of such words. Some are "barren" (devoid of "rare" words) and some are "very weak" (far below the average proportion), while some are "very strong" (much above the average) and a few have so many "rare" words that they may fitly be called "excessive." Between these two extremes lies a large number that are either "normal" or not far above or below it. In this middle class are about two-thirds of the total list of verses. The remaining one-third is about equally divided between "strength" and "weakness."

We at once note that for our purposes the "barren" verses have importance, since in them we find expressions made up wholly of "common" words. The full list of these verses is as follows:—

1 : 6	44 : 5, 8, 9	73 : 25	107 : 1, 8, 15, 21, 31
3 : 3, 5	45 : 18	75 : 10	108 : 2, 6
4 : 7	47 : 3, 7	77 : 14	109 : 2, 21, 26, 27, 31
7 : 2, 11, 18	48 : 2, 9	78 : 3, 39	113 : 1, 2, 4
9 : 2, 11	49 : 20	82 : 6	115 : 1, 3, 5, 8, 15, 16
10 : 6, 11, 16	50 : 6	84 : 5, 9, 13	116 : 2, 9
13 : 6	51 : 17	85 : 7, 8	118 : 1, 6, 7, 8, 17, 21,
14 : 4	52 : 5	86 : 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8	23, 24, 26, 28, 29
16 : 1, 2	53 : 5	88 : 2	119 : 13, 65, 91, 137,
18 : 4, 47, 50	54 : 9	89 : 17, 26, 27, 43	149, 160, 175
20 : 10	55 : 17		120 : 1, 6
21 : 2, 8, 9, 14	56 : 4, 5, 11, 12		121 : 7, 8
22 : 18	57 : 6, 8, 12	90 : 14	122 : 1, 9
24 : 6, 10	59 : 3	92 : 2, 9	123 : 1
25 : 1, 20	62 : 13	94 : 7	125 : 1
26 : 3	63 : 5	95 : 3	128 : 1, 6
27 : 7, 8	64 : 11	96 : 3, 4	130 : 3, 6
29 : 11	65 : 3	97 : 6, 9, 10	134 : 1, 2, 3
30 : 9, 11	66 : 2, 4, 8, 16, 18	99 : 2	135 : 1, 12, 16, 18
31 : 15, 16	67 : 3, 4, 6	101 : 1	136 : 1, 2, 7, 21, 22,
32 : 11	68 : 11	102 : 16	25, 26
33 : 5, 6, 9, 13, 21	69 : 2, 28	103 : 1, 17	138 : 1, 5, 7

34:2, 4, 7, 14, 20	71:1, 19	104:31, 33	143:9, 11
35:24	72:1	105:3, 4, 7	144:3
37:36		106:1, 3, 8, 31, 44	145:1, 2, 10, 17, 21
41:11			146:1, 2, 6
			147:20
			148:1, 4
			149:2

A few of the above verses may be queried because they contain more than one word lying close to the line between the "common" and "rare" classes, viz.: 34:14; 49:20; 89:26; 118:17. Whether a few others should also be queried is a matter of opinion.

With these four verses omitted, the list foots up 220 verses.

Closely related to the "barren" verses are those that we call "very weak"—those in which the proportion of "rare" words is much less than half the normal. The probability is that in these verses whatever characteristics belong to "barren" verses will be more or less apparent. The only difficulty is in drawing the line between verses that shall be called "very weak" and those that ought to be called merely "weak." The list that has been used in this study is as follows:—

3:4, 7	43:3	74:19	108:5
4:2, 4	44:18	76:8	109:16, 28
5:6, 12	46:3, 6, 11	77:2	111:6
6:6	48:11	78:5, 21, 42	112:1, 6, 7, 8
8:5	49:2, 3	79:9, 13	115:12, 18
9:20	50:7, 16	80:18	117:2
10:12, 13	52:11	82:8	118:15
11:7	53:7	84:5, 19	119:43, 62
12:8	55:13, 20	84:3	123:2
14:7	56:14	85:9	125:2, 5
15:1	59:17	86:5, 9, 17	129:8
16:8, 9, 10	60:12	87:5	131:1
17:1, 6	62:8	89:2, 9	135:3, 5, 6, 13, 17, 19, 20
18:25, 28	63:12		138:2, 4
19:2	68:20, 35		139:14, 24
20:2, 7	69:7, 14	90:3, 17	141:8
22:27, 28	70:5	92:10, 12	142:5
23:6	71:20, 24	93:3	143:2, 8
24:2, 3		94:15, 16	145:20
25:2, 11, 15		95:7	146:10
27:2, 9		96:13	148:14
28:3, 9		98:3	
29:3		99:4, 9	

30 : 2, 4, 13	100 : 3, 5
31 : 2, 8, 18, 20	101 : 7
32 : 2	102 : 3, 20
33 : 12	104 : 35
35 : 10, 20	106 : 47
37 : 28	
38 : 17	
41 : 3, 8, 10, 12	

This list might be lengthened considerably by including some verses from the "weak" class. As it stands, it includes 157 verses.

Assuming that these lists are fairly correct, several facts are apparent, some of which may be important for further use. We may well specify the following:—

(a) The proportion of verses almost or quite devoid of "rare" words is large in about one-fifth of the poems (in 3, 4, 16, 20, 21, 24, 30, 41, 53, 56, 67, 84, 86, 99, 100, 112, 113, 115, 117, 118, 123, 125, 128, 131, 134, 135, 138, 143, 146), those (naturally) in which, as poems, the proportion of "rare" words is small. Conversely, about one-third of the poems show a small proportion of such verses, just as they show a large percentage of "rare" words in their total text.

(b) There is marked tendency in the poems to begin or end with verses that are below "normal"—over one-half thus beginning, and nearly two-thirds thus ending. Initial verses are "barren" in thirty-two cases, and "very weak" in twelve more. Final verses are "barren" in twenty-two cases, and "very weak" in twenty-eight more. In many instances the juxtaposition of these verses with their context raises a query about interpolation.

(c) Refrain-verses in 57, 67, 107 are "barren," and in 42-43, 46, 80 are below "normal"; but in 49 they are "very strong."

In general, the results of classifying the poems by the proportion of "rare" words in their total text and by the proportion of verses that range from "strong" to "weak" are the same. But it is important to notice that sometimes in "strong" poems "very weak" or "barren" verses occur, and *vice versa*. If there is any significance in the "rare-word test," such cases provoke special inquiry. Undoubtedly, each case must be considered by itself, and no conclusion should be adopted without regard to parallel cases, if they exist.

If, now, we concentrate our attention upon the "barren" verses, it is manifest at once that they fall into two main classes. A small number are "barren" simply because they happen to

use ordinary terms in the expression of thoughts that derive their main color and force from their general context. A much larger number evidently are "liturgical" in essential character, being such utterances as might occur in a ritual, and embodying expressions that are likely to have become current because of ritual habits. These latter are so numerous that the question arises whether through the analysis of the "barren" verses, which by themselves constitute only 9 % of the Psalter, we may not secure a clue that shall enable us to identify similar material, even outside of these verses. What is attempted here is to trace this matter by means of lexical statistics.

It proves that over 200 of the "common" words occur in "barren" verses, some frequently, some only once or rarely. For our present purpose, the critical point to observe is the proportion of the whole number of the occurrences of a given word that is found in these verses. If a word occurs much more often in "barren" verses than 9 % of all its occurrences, it may be said to "prefer" such verses, which amounts to the same thing as saying that it avoids association with "rare" words. Presumably, also, since the number of "common" words is limited, this also means that words with a high percentage in "barren" verses tend to form parts of more or less conventional expressions that are often repeated or imitated. While the facts may be roughly secured by a mere inspection of the verses, we may well lead up to them by a strictly objective analysis of the statistics. In all cases, we begin with the "barren" verses, but check up the data in the "very weak" verses as well, since these latter are evidently akin to the former.

It proves that in the "barren" verses two words show a percentage over four times as great as we should expect, nine more over three times, thirty-one more over twice, etc.; and almost all of these also show a much higher percentage in "very weak" verses than we should expect. Thus we may isolate a special vocabulary, which is characteristic of the "barren" verses and those like them, a vocabulary made up of "common" words that "prefer" in the Psalter to associate together, entirely or mostly without intermixture with "rare" words.

Instead of working thus with the "barren" verses, we may also analyze the vocabulary of the "weaker" *poems* (those with a low percentage of "rare" words). The results coincide to a very large extent, which, perhaps, is the more surprising because the actual material used in the two inductions is far from being the same.

This special vocabulary will naturally include the forty-two words that are twice as frequent in "barren" verses as is expected, together with a selection of those that are noticeably frequent in both "barren" and "very weak" verses, making fifty-five in all, viz.:

Test-List Derived from Barren and Very Weak Verses.

זמר	44	5	צדקה	26	12	שיר	v.	23	8	ספר	19	8	עה	17	8	
ירה	37	14	בקש	26	11	מרום		23	8	זה	19	0	חסיד	16	20	
נדול	33	10	צירה	25	13	צבא		22	13	עלום	18	18	ישועה	16	13	
א. ניל	32	16	I. קרא	25	11	מלך		22	5	עננה	I.	16	18	עתה	15	23
כבוד	31	14	ישע	25	7	הוא		21	17	קדש	18	18	יעקב	15	18	
ברא	31	13	ברך	24	20	גנבר		21	11	חסיד	18	14	ירא	v.	15	17
הלו	31	7	עריר	24	18	v. חייה		20	10	נהלה	18	14	מעשה	15	13	
בְּטַח	30	9	חסה	24	16	גצל		20	9	יהוה	18	11	אָשָׁר	15	12	
שְׁבִים	28	7	רום	24	16	טוב	adj.	20	6	אדם	18	10	מי	14	29	
שְׁמָחָה	27	19	שם	24	14	שפט		19	10	תהלה	17	14	דור	14	19	
עלין	27	9	פָּלָא	24	7	אדני		19	29	את	prp.	17	9	אָנוּ	14	18

The figures following the words are the percentages of the words' total occurrences found in "barren" and "very weak" verses respectively. Thus, for example, זמר occurs in the whole Psalter 41 times; of these, 18 (44 %) are in "barren" verses and 2 (5 %) are in "very weak" verses. In the percentages for הלויה, עלום, חסיד, הלה, נחה, (23 times) and חסרו לעולם כי (34 times) are disregarded.

If this list is compared with the general list of "common" words previously given, it will be noted that all the groups there are represented. The only words from group J (of uncertain value, because lying close to the arbitrary line between "common" and "rare" words) are מרים, זה, מרים, עתה, וזה, מרים, כי (34 times) are disregarded.

Besides these, the only other words of doubtful importance are הוא, אתה, מי, כי; but even these may have some significance.

All told, these 55 words (omitting the formulae named above) occur in the Psalter about 3,100 times. But of these זה furnishes nearly 700. Excluding these latter, these words make up about 13 % of the whole Psalter text (about 16 % with יהוה).

For reference, we may mention the words that just missed being included in the above list, viz.: כל, שמר, עד, ישר, ראה, בן, א/or, שמע, אב, אלהים, לב, אלהים.

Also, for reference, we note that among over twenty "common" words not found in "barren" verses are בָּרוּת, שָׁאָל, לְבָב, שָׁאָל, אָנָּא, and that תְּחִתָּה, חָרָב, שָׁם, שְׁבָר are not found in either "barren" or "very weak" verses.

The distribution of the words in this test-list among the poems proves to be very unequal, as might be expected from the method used in isolating them. In poems having a sustained "liturgical" character they are relatively abundant, while in others they are notably few. Without taking space for the complete summary of the facts, we simply give the beginning and end of the series—those poems in which the proportion of these words is large, and those in which it is small, viz.:

	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
(Many)	—	—	—	—	150
	—	57	—	—	148
	—	67	—	—	136, 138
	—	—	—	—	145
	—	—	—	99	113
	—	—	—	—	115, 134
24	—	86	—	97	149
	—	47	—	96	108
30	54	—	—	—	118
20	—	75	—	—	—
21	—	—	—	100	117
13, 33	52, 63	—	—	—	111, 135
9	61	—	—	—	131
8	56, 66	—	—	—	112
34	48, 71	—	—	—	146
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(Few)	6, 17	42, 51	—	—	141
23, 41	55	81, 88	—	—	129, 139
—	—	—	93	—	123
39	53	—	94	—	132, 137
1	—	—	—	—	114
—	—	—	—	—	126, 127

The grading in the above table is derived by comparing the number of the test-words in each poem with the total text-length of the poem. הַתְּהִת, הַתְּהִת, תְּהִת are omitted from the reckoning, as well as the formulae containing הַלְּל, שְׁלָמִים, חָסָר. Greater weight is attached to the occurrences of words near the head of the test-list than of those near its foot.

Thus far the method of analysis used has been as mechanical as possible. But it is evident that now the factor of judgment must enter. For example, we have isolated a group of apparently critical words. But it is unlikely that every occurrence of these words is significant. Where a word has several fairly well

defined usages, the question arises as to which of them is to be emphasized. And it is possible that a few words may appear in the list by a literary accident. Indeed, the securing of the list rests upon the arbitrary distinction made at the outset between "common" and "rare" words. All that could be properly claimed for such a list as this is that it affords a preliminary working hypothesis or clue, the development of which requires both critical tact and the careful weighing of evidence.

Since we are relying upon "barren" verses as indices of a special vocabulary, it follows that only those uses of the words that are emphasized in such verses should be magnified. Below is the summary of the occurrences or uses of the words that appear to the writer to be significant:—

Words referring to jubilant praise: זמר, all; דדה, all; גיל, all, exc. 13:5; הָלָל, only to God, and exc. "Hallelujah" at opening or close of poems; שמה, only to God; ברך, only to God; רום, only to or of God; שיר, exc. 65:18; ננד, all, exc. 111:6; 147:19; ספר, only to God; ענה, only to God; תהלה, all.

Words referring to trustful dependence: בטח, only toward God; חסה, all; בקש, only toward God or good things; קרא, only toward God; ראי, only toward God, including Niph. ptc.

Words referring to God Himself, His attributes and deeds: שם, only of God; יהוה, all *omitted*; עדני, all; עליון, all, exc. 89:27; מלך, only of God; מצעה עשה, only of God as Creator, etc.; מרים, only as God's sphere; שמיים, only as God's creation or home; צבא, only of heaven; איה, only of God; גדרל, only of God or His works; טוב, only of God or His attributes; קדש, all; כבוד, only of God, including 3:4; 57:9; 85:10; 108:2; צדקה, only of God; משפט, all, exc. 1:5; 9:5; 17:2; 35:23; 76:10; 112:5; 119:121, 132; 140:13; 143:2; 149:9; חסד, all, exc. 109:12, 16; 141:5, and many formulae, as in 136; פלא, all; ברך, only from God; ענה, only from God; אן, only God's; שער, all, exc. 22:12; 72:12; 107:12; עשו, only by God; ישועה, all; גצל, only by God; חייה, all, exc. 22:30; 49:10; 72:15; 89:49.

Various words, mostly referring to man or his experiences: אדם, all; בשר, only of "mankind," including 56:5; יעקב, all; חלה, all, exc. 127:3; איש, all; צירה, all; וור, all; עולם, all, exc. many formulae, as in 136; מי, all; עתה, all; את, all, are all *omitted* as of doubtful importance.

When the distribution of these words (in the senses noted) is examined, we find that they are very widely disseminated through the collection, but are more frequent at certain spots than at others. If they afford any historical clue, they represent

some type of expression that affects most of the poems in part and some of them as wholes. Probably the selection of usages and occurrences here used is too liberal, so that single or scattered cases are not important. But where these words occur in relatively large numbers the passages require attention. It proves that about 500 verses contain at least two of these words (about one verse in five), and, of these, nearly 200 contain at least three of them (nearly one verse in twelve). But, inasmuch as the verses vary greatly in length, allowance needs to be made for this fact. In 78 verses these words constitute one-half or more of the text; in 419 verses they constitute one-quarter or more. The full list of these is as follows:—

2 : 4	44 : 5, 9	73 : 5, 25, 28	107 : 1, 8, 15, 21, 24, 31, 32,
3 : 5	45 : 3, 18	74 : 12	43
5 : 12	46 : 8, 12	75 : 2, 10	108 : 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 11
6 : 5, 6	47 : 3, 7, 8	76 : 2, 8, 9, 11	109 : 21, 26, 30
7 : 1, 18	48 : 2, 12	77 : 8, 9, 14	111 : 2, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9
9 : 2, 3, 8, 12,	49 : 9, 12, 19	78 : 4, 22, 71	112 : 1, 2, 6
15, 17	50 : 4, 6, 15	79 : 9, 13	113 : 1, 2, 3, 4
10 : 16	51 : 17	80 : 8, 19, 20	115 : 3, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16
11 : 4	52 : 10, 11	81 : 5, 8	116 : 2, 4, 13, 17
12 : 2, 8	53 : 7	83 : 17	117 : 2
13 : 6	54 : 3, 6, 8, 9	84 : 5, 6, 9, 13	118 : 1, 5, 8, 17, 21, 24, 26,
14 : 7	55 : 17	85 : 6, 7	28, 29
15 : 1	56 : 11	86 : 1, 2, 3, 4, 5,	119 : 7, 13, 26, 39, 40, 52,
17 : 6, 7	57 : 3, 4, 6, 8, 10,	7, 8, 9, 10,	62, 84, 88, 89, 90, 93,
18 : 4, 32, 47,	11, 12	12, 13	120, 142, 144, 145,
50, 51	59 : 3, 18	88 : 10, 11	146, 149, 156, 159,
19 : 2	60 : 7, 11	89 : 2, 3, 5, 15,	160, 164, 175
20 : 2, 7, 10	61 : 5, 8, 9	17, 25, 27,	120 : 1
21 : 2, 8, 14	62 : 3, 7, 13	29, 50	121 : 2
22 : 5, 22, 23	63 : 3, 4, 5		124 : 8
24 : 3, 6, 7, 8,	64 : 10, 11		125 : 1
9, 10	66 : 2, 4, 8, 17, 20	90 : 1, 14	130 : 2, 3
25 : 6, 20	67 : 4, 6, 8	91 : 3, 15	132 : 15
26 : 7	68 : 5, 19, 25, 27,	92 : 2, 3, 5, 9	134 : 2, 3
27 : 7	33, 36	95 : 3, 5, 6	135 : 1, 3, 12, 13
28 : 7, 8, 9	69 : 7, 15, 17, 31,	96 : 1, 2, 3, 4,	136 : 1, 4, 5, 7, 26
29 : 2, 10	33, 35	5, 8, 11	138 : 1, 2, 3, 5, 7
30 : 5, 13	70 : 5	97 : 1, 6, 8, 12	139 : 14
31 : 2, 3, 8, 17,	71 : 1, 2, 16, 17,	98 : 1, 2	140 : 2, 8
22	19	99 : 2, 3, 4, 5, 6	141 : 1
32 : 10, 11	72 : 1, 5	100 : 3, 4, 5	142 : 3

33 : 2, 5, 6, 9, 11, 13, 21	101 : 1 102 : 13, 19, 20, 22, 26	143 : 11 144 : 15 145 : 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21
34 : 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 9, 18	103 : 1, 6, 17, 21, 22	12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21 146 : 2, 5, 6, 10
35 : 9, 17	104 : 31, 33	147 : 1, 7, 19, 20
36 : 6, 7, 8, 11	105 : 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 10	148 : 1, 2, 3, 5, 13
37 : 5, 18, 40	106 : 1, 2, 3, 5, 8,	149 : 1, 2, 3, 9
38 : 16	12, 21, 31, 47	150 : 1, 2, 3, 4, 5
40 : 4, 6		

The distribution of these verses by Books is as follows:—I. 87 vv., 14.1 % (of total vv. in Bk.); II. 76 vv., 16.4 %; III. 52 vv., 14.6 %; IV. 60 vv., 18.8 %; V. 144 vv., 20.5 %.

Among these verses are 41 initial and 41 final verses. The list also includes refrain-verses in 46, 57, 80, 99, 107. In 17 cases these verses have **הַלְל** appended, and in 8 more **הַלְל** precedes.

So far as the proportion of these verses to the total number of verses in the several poems is a hint that they may belong somewhat completely to the type represented, the most likely cases are, in Bk. I, 24; in Bk. II, 47, 54, 57, 61, 67; in Bk. III, 86; in Bk. IV, 96, 99, 100; in Bk. V, 113, 115, 117, 118, 134, 138, 145, 146, 148, 149, 150. In several cases where poems are made up of two contrasted sections one of these shows a high proportion of these verses, as, for example, 28b, 36b, 102b, 144a.

This class of verses is absent from 26 poems, and very slightly found in several more, especially in 10, 19, 27, 35, 38, 51, 55, 74, 78, 83, 104, 132, 139. But in a very large number of poems there are considerable passages that are absolutely devoid of the words here being studied. The longest of these (each ten verses or more) are 105 : 24-41; 139 : 1-13; 44 : 9-19; 109 : 2-12; 45 : 8-17; 78 : 39-48; but reference to such cases is misleading, since many such "barren" passages are really much longer, the occurrence before or after them of one or two of the critical words being probably without significance. It seems hopeless to discuss the phenomena in detail, since that would involve notes upon the structure of most of the poems in the collection.

Thus far we have been advancing along a single line of induction. We first divided the Psalter vocabulary into two divisions, one of "common" words, the other of "rare" words. We then noted that certain verses are devoid of "rare" words. For these "barren" verses it proved that about one-quarter of the "common" words had a decided "preference," implying that these words had a tendency to appear in conjunction with each other or with other "common" words. After some sifting of the usages of these critical words, we noted certain points

about their distribution through the poems. The next step, obviously, is to remark upon the general critical and historical conclusions toward which these phenomena may be thought to point.

But, before doing this, it is proper to say that several other similar accumulations of statistics might have been introduced. For example, instead of confining ourselves to the "common" words, we might have taken the "moderately rare" words (occurring in 5-12 poems), and noted those that "prefer" verses that are "very weak" or "weak." This would have yielded another critical list of perhaps 70 words. Many of these have unmistakable connection with those already before us. Again, it would be possible to make up another list by massing together the various words that show a marked tendency to associate with the "common" words upon which emphasis has been laid. Still other processes are conceivable.

To introduce further details here would necessitate greatly increasing a statement that is already long and complicated. To the writer this increase seems unnecessary, since, in his opinion, no important new factor would appear, though much that is corroborative of what is here emphasized might be indicated. The principal value of such other studies as have just been suggested has been to him to strengthen the belief that the main method followed has validity and utility. But it is probable that his own interpretations of the material are slightly influenced by facts that are not here given in detail.

The method used in drafting the critical word-list justifies us in supposing that it is connected with some general, widely diffused characteristic of the Psalter. The words that are most "common" must have some correspondence to ideas and sentiments that are pervasive. A minute study of the distribution of these critical words confirms this *à priori* supposition, though, at the same time, it shows that the distribution is not uniform. In some poems the critical words are so many and so scattered that we infer that the whole poem belongs to the class which they represent. In other poems these words are either extremely few or are so oddly disposed in relation to other matter that

we infer either (a) that the whole poem belongs to another class, or (b) that two or more heterogeneous portions have been editorially united, or (c) that detached verses have been inserted into poems that were originally without them.

It is natural to call the type of expression before us "liturgical." It is strongly marked by verbs of liturgical action or sentiment, as well as by many formulae or phrases that suggest liturgical habits or are suitable for actual liturgical application. This is particularly noticeable in the poems in which the critical words are most abundant. We may even observe that this type, as emphasized in the Psalter, has been potent in directing liturgical usage throughout Christian history, serving as both source and model of expression.

Even without going much beyond the range of passages to which our word-list has led us, it is possible to say that this type of expression is associated with certain main concepts or ideas. Its prevailing tone is buoyant and confident, even exuberant. It holds up the notion of God as a supreme King, powerful, glorious and exalted, so imperial as to call forth the height of reverence and adoration, but also a ruler whose relations to men are so benign and generous that He evokes heartfelt trust and loyalty. He is praised not only for what He is, but for what He does, especially for His function as Deliverer and Protector. Yet there is not much sign of definite dwelling upon the particular classes of ill from which He rescues those who trust Him. Neither penitence nor dejection over misfortune are specially expressed. It is possible to say that there is a tendency to universalistic statements, the sweep of which would probably be lessened if details were magnified. Hence the ease with which most of these expressions can be transferred to all periods and conditions of worship. There is slight explicit reference to history, and hardly any trace of the didactic or homiletic spirit. Whether the term "liturgical" is the best for this type of expression, or whether the foregoing attempt to trace some of its salient qualities is apt, it seems plain that this type has decided individuality, so much so that it becomes a striking factor in the whole problem of the Psalter. Indeed, its existence is universally recognized in commentation,

though its scope and contents are not usually approached in the way here chosen.

Now, for purposes of criticism, it is of much importance to ask whether this type of expression, with all that it involves, is so inherent in the whole of the literary output that gave rise to Psalter poetry as to be simply an aspect of it, or whether it represents one stage or period in the development of that poetry.

It seems to the writer that the weight of evidence is on the side of the latter supposition. At least, it seems worth while to test this supposition as carefully as possible. Accordingly, we now take up some facts that make it plausible.

At later points in these Studies it will be argued that, by processes analogous to that here used, it is possible to designate two or three other distinct types of expression in the Psalter, each with its own characteristic vocabulary, phraseological tendency, and general thought-content. Although recognizing the possibility of regarding all these as purely psychological aspects of the general impulse that called forth all Psalter poetry, the writer has come to feel that for these contrasted aspects of thought and sentiment it is natural and necessary to conjecture varying historic conditions and hence to conjecture for them some chronological sequence. This special line of investigation, then, connects itself with all the various efforts, which are almost universal in recent commentary, to draft a hypothesis as to how the Psalter was progressively built up out of groups of material that originated at different times, perhaps separated by considerable intervals, and under different conditions, perhaps somewhat opposed in character.<sup>4</sup>

In a general way, the mere fact of the diffusion of this "liturgical" material in the Psalter favors the presumption that it is comparatively late, or, at least, belongs to the time of the final editing rather than to any earlier time, if such time is

<sup>4</sup> Throughout the present discussion the writer has not undertaken to give references to the innumerable points of connection between the matters here presented and the great body of modern commentaries, simply because of the magnitude of such an effort and because, for those familiar with the literature, it is needless.

to be provided for, when were drafted certain poems that remained in use in such a way as ultimately to demand inclusion in the collection. It is not likely that a pervading element would belong to any but one of the later stages of a prolonged process of accumulation. Yet this argument is manifestly not of great force, certainly by itself.

In a general way, also, the fact that this material is "liturgical" in just the way it is may be regarded as associating it with the later stages of the process of making a service-book for some sort of practical use. The Psalter cannot be supposed to be simply a poetic anthology, compiled for literary purposes, nor simply a book of devotional readings. The preservation of its materials, the sifting of them, their shaping into their present form, and, finally, their adoption into the recognized canon, presuppose that they were associated with some stated religious use that gave them exceptional importance, dignity, and even sanctity. With all this agrees the evidence of the various rubrics and captions that accompany the poems. If, then, we are dealing with a body of liturgical literature, we should expect that running through the whole would be strains that are "liturgical." If we go further, and suppose that the whole collection is made up of poems consciously composed for a liturgical use of some definite sort, then we may even say that the case calls for no argument whatever, since, of course, the purpose would declare itself throughout. It is very doubtful, however, whether we are in any position to say just what was the primary purpose of this type of poetry, certainly to say it with such positiveness and definiteness as to permit us to hold that what we are now considering is an inevitable feature of the whole process. Until we are sure of our history we must be careful about presuppositions. In this case we are forced to rely largely upon internal evidence for our historical hypotheses, and it is begging the question to assume that which is to be proved.

We are probably assisted to a just conclusion by certain facts. It is clear that the type of expression to which our test-list of words points is most fully exemplified in Bks. IV-V, especially in the series 96-100 in the former, and in the two

Hallels in the latter. If it were not for the inclusion in these books of certain poems that are more or less unique (and which, therefore, present distinct problems by themselves), like 90, 91, 104, 119, 137, 139, with the whole series known as "Songs of Ascents," and representatives of classes elsewhere prominent (such as 94, 101, 105, 106, 114, 140, 141), these Books would show an overwhelming preponderance of this type of expression as compared with other Books. By general consent, the so-called "Greek Hallel" (146-150) is counted as late, and it is just here that our test-words are remarkably numerous. By general consent, also, the doxologies that are appended to Bks. I-IV are late, and these, if they had been included in our enumeration, would have been "strong" in the test-words.

Again, we note that several poems, outside of Bks. IV-V, present such lexical affinities with the poems within these Books that exemplify the type of expression before us that we may well suppose them to belong to the same general class. Striking instances are 24b, most of 33, 47, 57, much of 66, 67, 86, besides sections or passages elsewhere. All these offer such contrasts in both form and content to their surroundings as to suggest that they have been interpolated into the series where they stand. If this be plausible, then the type they represent must be subsequent to the type or types with which they are in contrast.

Again, a similar remark applies to the numerous cases in which initial or final verses, either of whole poems or of somewhat distinct sections, present our characteristic type of expression. These seem to be *imposed* upon the main structure of the poems in many cases, often with an apparent purpose to make the latter either more generally useful or less objectionable (by a "euphemistic" coloring).<sup>5</sup>

The most plausible cases are 7:18; 9:2-3; 13:6-7; 14:7 = 53:7; 18:50-51; 20:10; 21:14; 28:6-9; 29:1-2, 10-11; 30:18; 32:10-11; 34:2-5; 45:18; 48:2; 52:10-11; 59:17-18; 63:12; 64:10-11; 66:16-20; 68:36; 72:17; 73:28; 75:2, 10; 79:13; 80:19 (final before refrain); 83:19; 84:13; 89:2-3; 92:2-5; 101:1; 105:1-2; 106:1-3, 47; 109:30-31;

<sup>5</sup> See Grimm: *Euphemistic Appendices*, pp. 8, 22.

with many others that are uncertain. Note that only a very few of these lie in Bks. IV-V. If among these are instances of imposed antiphons, the implication is that the process of emendation affected Bks. I-III, which, therefore, were earlier in existence.

Probably a similar remark might be made about refrain-verses, though the number of clear instances is small.

The best cases for our theory are 42(-43), 46, 80, 107. In 57 the refrains seem to be simply a part of the general texture. In 42 one may argue forcibly that the refrains (like the interpolated Yahwistic v. 9) are euphemistic in intent.

Whatever be the etymological sense of סלה, it is clear that in a great majority of cases it serves to mark a separation between sections—somewhat equivalent in effect to the modern typographical device of inserting extra “leads,” perhaps with a “rule,” so that the eye is immediately guided to the intended partition of the text. One is led to wonder whether in some cases it is not the sign of an insertion or similar interference in the text. If so, the verses preceding and following may be regarded as initials orinals.

In the lists on pp. 88 f. the following verses are *succeeded* by סלה: 3:5; 9:17; 24:6, 10; 44:9; 46:8, 12; 50:6; 57:4; 61:5; 66:4; 68:33; 81:8; 84:5, 9; 88:11; 89:5—all, naturally, in Bks. I-III, since the use of this term is almost confined to these Books. In the LXX the term is also appended to 50:15; 80:8.

The following verses are *preceded* by סלה: 54:6; 57:8; 60:7; 66:8; 67:6; 76:11; 84:6; 89:50.

In a number of cases the poems of the collection have the look of being compounded of two or more sections of diverse character. Judgments may differ widely as to the exact limits of these, and still more as to the theory to account for them. For purposes of rough comparison, however, we may safely note some examples as tending to support the general argument before us. Fully to discuss the facts would require far more space than is available.

The percentages in the following table show the proportion of the test-words to the text-length of the sections indicated:

18: a. 2-4	19 %	36: a. 2-5	0 %	90: a. 1-12	7 %
b. 5-16	4 „	b. 6-13	18 „	b. 13-17	8 „
c. 17-25	5 „	42: a. 2-5, 7-8, 10-11	0 %	102: a. 2-12	4 %
d. 26-46	5 „	b. 6, 9, 12	11 „	b. 13-23	15 „
e. 47-51	25 „			c. 24-29	11 „
19: a. 2-7	10 %	44: a. 2-9	15 %	106: a. 1-5, 47	29 %
b. 8-15	4 „	b. 10-27	2 „	b. 6-46	5 „
22: a. 2-12	13 %	50: a. 1-15	9 %	108: a. 2-6 (= 57)	30 %
b. 13-22	4 „	b. 16-23	2 „	b. 7-14 (= 60)	11 „
c. 23-32	13 „	60: a. 3-6	0 %		
27: a. 1-6	8 %	b. 7-11	12 „	108: a. 1-20	2 %
b. 7-14	6 „	c. 12-14	10 „	b. 21-31	18 „
28: a. 1-5	5 %	74: a. 1-11	4 %	144: a. 1-11	12 %
b. 6-9	27 „	b. 12-23	5 „	b. 12-15	5 „
29: a. 1-2, 10-11	22 %	89: a. 2-5	28 %		
b. 3-9	4 „	b. 6-19	6 „		
		c. 20-38	15 „		
		d. 39-52	5 %		

Although these data are not uniformly clear, their general trend is that sections that are likely to be the earlier are weaker in test-words, and *vice versa*. But it may be that other factors than those now before us enter into the problem in some cases.

There is another line of argument, which is hard to carry out in full, and the exact bearing of which is open to debate, but which, nevertheless, should be mentioned. Some thirty of the test-words are very unequally distributed through the Old Testament books, at least in the senses noted. On the whole, the evidence favors the general view here emphasized. No doubt, some cases are to be explained by supposing that the Psalms are directly influenced by the knowledge and use of antecedent literature. But, especially as regards the words of praise, there is room for the supposition that in some cases "liturgical" antiphons have been inserted in antecedent texts, just as such antiphons seem to have been inserted in certain Psalms. If this latter supposition is correct, even in a comparatively few instances, it has a bearing upon the date of such emendations in general, since, whatever view may be held as to the *terminus ad quem* in the process of text-alteration

that is supplied by the LXX for the Psalter, it cannot well be as late nor as uncertain for the Pentateuch or the Prophecies.

Without venturing to give great weight to this matter it is worth while to give some statistics, as they concern this discussion. It is plain, however, that there may be much difference of opinion as to just what passages should be cited under particular usages of the words. The figures of the following table

	Gn	Ex	Lv	Nu	Dt	Jos	Jg	Sa	Kg	Ist <sup>1</sup>	Is <sup>2</sup>	Jer	Ezk	Ho	Jl	Am	
זמר	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—
חטיר	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
חטה	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—
יריה	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	5	—	1	—	—	—	—
עלין	4	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
רומ	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	2	4	2	—	—	—	—	—
חסדר	5	4	—	2	3	—	—	—	5	3	—	5	5	—	1	1	—
הלוֹל	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	4	3	—	—	—	—
פלאָ	—	2	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
אשר	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	—
ישועה	1	2	—	—	1	—	—	4	—	8	11	—	—	—	—	—	—
נדול	—	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	1	—	—	—	—
טָלָךְ	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	3	5	—	—	—	—
תָּהָלָה	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	5	—	—	—	—
קראָ	5	—	—	—	4	—	2	2	4	1	6	5	1	1	2	—	—
ברך	4	1	—	—	1	1	2	4	7	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
צדקה	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	1	—	5	13	2	—	—	—	—	—
גיל	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	6	—	—	1	2	—	—
מרום	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	3	2	—	—	—	—	—
עור	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	—
בְּטָחָה	—	—	—	—	1	—	5	—	9	5	4	16	2	1	—	1	—
און	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	2	2	1	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
שמחה	—	—	1	—	8	—	—	5	2	3	3	4	—	—	2	1	—
שְׁמִים	13?	4	—	—	6	1	—	2	18	1	15	4	2	—	2	—	—
שיר	—	3	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	2	1	1	1	—	—	—	—
צָרָה	3	—	—	—	2	—	1	4	2	3	3	8	—	—	—	—	—
כְּבָדָר	—	9	2	6	1	1	—	4	1	6	12	4	19	2	—	—	—
בְּקָשָׁר	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	3	2	—	4	—	1	—
בְּשָׁר	12?	—	—	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	6	4	4	—	1	—	—
צְבָא	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	4	56	6	82	—	1	—	9	—

represent a careful attempt to sift the occurrences of each word under the restrictions of meaning given on p. 94.

In the table the words are taken in the order of the ratios between the number of occurrences within the Psalter and the total number outside of it. The first sixteen words all occur more times (in the senses considered) in the Psalter than in all the other books together. The last two words are much more frequent in the other books than in the Psalter.

Ob	Jon	Mi	Na	Hb	Zp	Hg	Zc	Mal	Pr	Job	Ru	La	Dn	Ezr	Neh	Chr	Ps
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	41
—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	25
—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	25
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	67
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	21
—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	33
—	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	3	2	2	2	1	3	4	10 127
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	2	18	61
—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	2	—	1	—	28
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	1	—	—	1	—	2	26
—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	45
—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	4	1 25
—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	19
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	29
—	—	4	—	—	1	—	2	—	—	6	—	1	—	—	—	3	51
—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	—	5	—	—	4	1	3	11 47
—	—	2	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	29
—	—	—	—	—	1	1	2	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	17
—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	11
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	13
—	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	10	4	—	—	—	—	—	1	46
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	2	3	11
1	—	1	—	—	1	—	3	—	13	1	—	2	—	2	3	8	39
—	1	—	—	1	—	2	1	1	2	6	—	4	—	1	—	11	10 60
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	6	17	14	26
2	1	—	2	1	1	—	1	—	7	2	—	—	1	—	2	2	24
—	—	—	—	1	—	3	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	1	3	34	
—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	1	1	—	—	—	1	3	—	8	11
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	1	4
—	—	1	2	1	2	—	14	53	24	—	—	—	—	—	3	16	

In this table, no account is made of the doublets in Is. 36-38a and in Chr. with passages already noted in Kgs. בָּרוּ is taken only when addressed to God, and אֱלֹהִים only when in divine titles.

As examples of the peculiar distribution of these words among the several books, note that in Gen. about one-half of the cases are in chs. 9, 14, 24, 49; in Ex. two-thirds of the cases are in chs. 15, 16, 20, 33, 34 (15 alone has over one-quarter); in Num. over one-third are in ch. 14, and one-quarter more in chs. 11, 16; in Deut. two-thirds are in chs. 4, 5, 7, 10, 12, 26, 32, 33 (nearly one-quarter in the last two); in Is<sup>1</sup>, out of 61 cases (omitting אֱלֹהִים), 31 are in chs. 12 (9 cases), 25, 26, 30, 33, with 18 more in chs. 5, 6, 14, 24, 35, 38b, while there are none whatever in chs. 15-23; in Mic., out of 11 cases, 7 are in ch. 7, 2 in ch. 6, and 1 each in chs. 4, 5; in Hab. 5 out of 8 cases are in ch. 3 (poem); etc.

If we disregard אֱלֹהִים, and allow for the varying length of the books, Is<sup>2</sup> shows decidedly the largest proportions of these words (in the meanings considered), followed by Neh., Prov., Is<sup>1</sup>, Jer., Ezra, Job, Chr., and Deut., in rapidly decreasing proportions.

It remains to say that the whole view of the material here presented needs to be brought into connection with other material to be set forth in later divisions of these Studies. In particular, no good conclusions can be reached regarding the "liturgical" material without examining its relations to the materials characteristic of the "David" poems. Something also depends upon the view taken of the materials characteristic of the Elohistic poems. Hence it is necessary to extend the method to these other fields.

## The Visions of Zechariah

PAUL HAUPT

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

THE Book of Zechariah consists of two different parts: the first, comprising cc. 1-8, was written about the beginning of the reign of Darius Hystaspis; the second, including cc. 9-14, is Maccabean. The Visions of Zechariah extend from 1 7 to 6 15. The first six verses of the Book represent a secondary theological introduction. Nor can the appendix to the Visions in cc. 7 and 8 be ascribed to Zechariah, except Zech. 8 4-8 which must be appended to 2 5-9, whereas 8 1-3 is a variant to 1 14-16; the two sections 8 9-17 as well as 7 1-3 + 8 18 19<sup>a</sup> + 7 4-6 + 8 19<sup>b</sup> contain poems of Haggai, and 7 7-14 is the sequel to the theological introduction in 1 1-6; the final section 8 20-23 is a later addition to 8 4-8.

After the assassination of Pseudo-Smerdis on September 29, 522,<sup>1</sup> there were rebellions in Susiana, Babylonia, Persia, Media, Assyria, Armenia, and other provinces of the Persian empire. Darius had to fight for nearly a year and a half before his authority was established throughout his kingdom. Some prov-

<sup>1</sup> See F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achämeniden* (Leipzig, 1911) p. 19 and p. LXXII; contrast Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. iii, p. 194 (Oct. 16, 521). Cf. also Haupt, *Purim* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 33, l. 17, and ZDMG 64, p. 705, l. 22. According to Riessler (see n. 13) p. 225, Zechariah began to prophesy in November, 537. Riessler (p. 213) thinks that Darius is Cambyses, and that Zerubbabel is identical with Nehemiah; Zerubbabel-Nehemiah was the first Persian governor of Judea; the date of Zechariah's visions is February, 536 (p. 226). The statement that the earth was quiet and peaceful (Zech. 1 11) refers, according to Riessler, to the peaceful period in the Persian empire after the accession of Cyrus.—For the abbreviations, ZDMG, OLZ, EB, &c, see vol. 31 of this *JOURNAL*, p. 115, n. 2.

inces revolted two or three times.<sup>2</sup> The Jewish patriots hoped that fresh outbreaks would give them a chance to restore their national independence, and make the Davidic scion, Zerubbabel,<sup>3</sup> king of Judah. But their expectations were not realized: there was no sign of any fresh uprising. Zechariah expresses this in the form of a vision.<sup>4</sup> He says he saw by night a man among the myrtles in the bottom of the valley,<sup>5</sup> and before him were sorrel, black, white, and gray horses<sup>6</sup> which reported

<sup>2</sup> Cf. § 49 of the Behistûn Inscription (Weissbach, *op. cit.* p. 55).

<sup>3</sup> Zerubbabel, it may be supposed, was born in Babylonia about 538; see n. 1 on my paper *David und Christi Geburtsort* in OLZ 12, 67. The name Zerubbabel seems to mean *Grief for Babel*; cf. Assyr. *zurub libbi* = Syr. **لَبَّا**; **لَبَّا**. The Syriac Bible has **لَبَّا**; **لَبَّا**, with *u* after the initial *z*. This name may have meant originally *Sorrow over Babel*; afterwards it may have been interpreted to mean *He who will inflict distress upon Babel*, who will cause Babel to suffer.

<sup>4</sup> This is merely a literary device; cf. my remarks in the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 177, l. 37. Geo. A. Smith, *The Twelve Prophets*, vol. ii (London, 1898) p. 274 says, In Zech. 17—6 15 we have not the narrative of actual dreams, but a series of conscious and artistic allegories. On the other hand, E. Sellin, *Der alttestamentliche Prophetismus* (Leipzig, 1912) p. 88 says that we have no reason for assuming that Zechariah did not actually see his visions.

<sup>5</sup> This, it may be supposed, is the deep depression of the Kidron Valley which separates the rocky plateau of Jerusalem from the ridge of Mount Olivet. Cheyne (EB 2662) says that opposite St. Stephen's Gate, N of the Temple area, the depth is fully 100 feet, and the breadth not more than 400 feet. The olive-trees in the bottom are so thickly clustered as to form a shady grove. This spot is shut out from the city, from the view of public roads, and from the notice and interruption of wayfarers.—There may have been a similar myrtle grove. The myrtle grows wild in many of the glens about Jerusalem. It is found on bare hillsides and by watercourses in beautiful green clumps. The myrtle is an evergreen shrub which is usually from 3 to 4 feet high, but occasionally, in moist soil, it attains a height of 8 feet. In ancient times a brook flowed down the Kidron Valley; but now the bed of the streamlet is dry except when heavy rains are falling on the mountains around Jerusalem. Cf. EB 2662, 3247; DB 3, 465<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> The fiery *sorrel* (representing the meridian blaze of the sun) corresponds to the south, *black* to the north, *white* to the east, and *gray* to the west (the gray of the evening). For *white* = east, cf. French *aube* and Lat. *albente caelo*, *albescente die*. We must read שָׁׁרְקִים שָׁׁהְרִים לְבָנִים שְׁמָרִים; cf. 6 2 3. In 1 9 אַדְמִים is a prefixed gloss to שְׁמָרִים; in 6 2 this

that they had traversed the earth, and had found it quiet and peaceful. JHVH, however, assures the prophet that He has not forgotten Jerusalem; the Temple will be rebuilt, and the plumb-line suspended<sup>7</sup> over Jerusalem: everything that is out of plumb will be straightened.

Here we must append the statement which is now combined with another misplaced prediction concerning Zerubbabel in c. 4. Zechariah concluded his first patriotic address with the assurance: Zerubbabel's hands have laid the foundation of this Temple, his hands will also finish it. Whoever has despised the day of small things will rejoice and see the plummet<sup>8</sup> in the hands of Zerubbabel. He will rebuild the Temple and the City, and straighten everything that is out of plumb.

The power of the Persians in all four quarters of the earth will be broken. Angels are appointed by JHVH, who will lead the rebellions against the Persian king in the east, west, north, and south. The prophet says he saw four horns which had shattered Judah and Jerusalem; but four smiths came to lop off<sup>9</sup> the four horns. One of them was the guardian angel of Judah,<sup>10</sup> who would help Zerubbabel in his attempt to free the Chosen People from the Persian dominion.

Some of the Jewish patriots, however, were afraid they would be unable to resist the Persians, since Jerusalem was a city

gloss has displaced the original reading שְׁקִים (cf. JBL 26, 25, *ad* 1 11). Similarly אַמְצִים is a gloss to בָּרוּךְ in 6 3. According to Rothstein, *Die Nachtgesichte des Sacharja* (Leipzig, 1910) pp. 37, 49, 52, the colors אַרְגָּמִים שְׁקִים וְלִבְנִים all refer to the rising light of the morning, and point to the dawn of Messianic salvation; similarly the myrtles point to the vernal sun. Cf. below, n. 47.

<sup>7</sup> Lit. *stretched*. When the plummet is suspended, the line is stretched. Heb. פְּנָסֶה denotes here a *plumb-line*, not a *tape-line*. The *measuring line* is called חַבֵּל הַמִּזְהָב in 2 5. In the present passage the Vulgate renders correctly, *perpendiculum extendetur super Jerusalem*.

<sup>8</sup> הַרְאֵשׁהָ הַאֲבָן before הַבְּרִיל in 4 10 is a gloss as is also before הַרְאֵשׁהָ הַאֲבָן in 4 7.

<sup>9</sup> We must read לְנִזְהָר instead of לְנִזְהָרִת, and לְהַחְרִיד instead of לְהַחְרִידִת; this, however, is merely a prefixed gloss to הַחְרִיד for הַכְּרִית is a phonetic corruption; see JBL 31, 135, l. 8.

<sup>10</sup> See Dan. 10 13 21 12 1; cf. Wellhausen's notes on the translation of the Psalms, in the Polychrome Bible, p. 176, l. 36.

with no walls and but few inhabitants, therefore insignificant. The prophet, however, assures them, Jerusalem need not be a frowning citadel to inspire respect; JHVH's presence will give it sufficient importance; He will be like a wall of fire around it, and the population will increase so rapidly that the space within the city walls would be too small. Therefore Jerusalem is to be inhabited as a large open village. The prophet presents this again in the form of a vision: he saw a young man who was going to measure Jerusalem, but an angel told him to desist from this unnecessary undertaking.

In this connection we find two poetic quotations illustrating the increase of Jerusalem's population. In the first a poet bids the Jews, scattered all over the world, to return to Zion:

2, 10 Ho, ho, flee ye from the land of the north!  
Though I spread you abroad in all four quarters;  
11 To Zion escape ye who dwell in Babel!

The second poetic quotation, separated from the first by 2 12 13, which should be appended to the First Vision, 17-17, reads:

2, 14 Sing out, and rejoice, maid Zion!  
    lo, I come to dwell within thee.  
15 Many nations will join themselves,  
    and thus become people of JEHUH.  
16 He will claim, as His portion, Judah,  
    and choose again Jerusalem.

The first quotation is a triplet with  $2 + 2$  beats in each line; the second, a triplet with  $3 + 3$  beats. Both, it may be supposed, were originally added in the margin to 6 15 at the end of the First Vision (1 7-17 + 4 9 10 + 6 15 + 2 12 13).

The Jewish patriots hoped that, with the restoration of the Davidic kingdom and the national independence of Judah, the moral character of the community would be elevated. The prophet says he saw an enormous flying scroll containing curses which would strike every one who stole or swore falsely. This moral regeneration will be helped by the elimination of all foreign elements, especially Babylonian idolatries. Let them go back to Babylonia whence they came! The prophet says

he saw a bushel enclosing a woman<sup>11</sup> representing Wickedness, *i. e.* departure from the Mosaic Law.<sup>12</sup> Two winged female creatures lifted up the bushel, and carried it to Babylonia.<sup>13</sup>

The general uprising against Persia is at hand. Soon the angels,<sup>10</sup> who are to lead the rebellions in the east, and west, and north, and south,<sup>14</sup> will start on their chariots from a central place in Cœlesyria, between Lebanon and Antilebanon,<sup>15</sup> to place

<sup>11</sup> This may have been an image of Astarte; cf. p. 110 of the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, also *Jer. 7* 18 44 17. The bushel may have been suggested by a shrine of the goddess; see the illustration facing p. 78 of the translation of *Isaiah* in the Polychrome Bible. *Bushel* is connected with *box*, and German *Scheffel* is related to *Schaff*, perhaps also to *Schiff*.

<sup>12</sup> See my remarks on the meaning of רשעים in *Ps. 1* 1, AJSL 19, 138, n. 32. In the Maccabean period רשעים denoted the Hellenizers; at the time of Zechariah it was used of the Babylonizers. The Seleucidan kingdom was the *Daughter of Babylon*; see my explanation of *Ps. 137* in ÖLZ 10, 66, n. 13. Luther renders, *Das ist die gottlose Lehre*. Doederlein said in Grotius' *Annotationes in VT* (Halle, 1776): רשע saepe idolatriam significat . . . post exilium cultus idolorum penitus rejectus e Palaestina et quasi in exilium perpetuum missus.

<sup>13</sup> Professor Riessler, of Tübingen, in his book *Die kleinen Propheten* (Rottenburg, 1911) p. 237 translates Zech. 5 7 8: *Siehe, da war ein Nest für Gazellenjunge aufgebaut, und siehe, da saß ein Weibchen inmitten von Mißgeburten da. Da sprach er: Das ist eine schlimme Mutter, und er streckte sie inmitten der Mißgeburten nieder.* This remarkable production has received the sanction of the Roman Catholic Bishop of Württemberg. Riessler, however, has one emendation which is at least partially correct *inmitten der Mißgeburten*: he reads in 2 12: אל תְּחִזֵּת רַב כָּבוֹד שְׁלֹחַנִי, *um große Herrlichkeit zu verkünden sandte er mich*; he considers an abbreviation for *אָל תְּחִזֵּת רַב*. We must read, *לְחוֹת כָּבוֹד שְׁלֹחַנִי to proclaim His glory has He sent me*, and this is a tertiary gloss to 2 15<sup>b</sup>. I made this emendation before I was aware of the fact that Professor Riessler read *לְחוֹת*, and I adhere to it despite this alarming coincidence.

<sup>14</sup> We must read in 6 6: הַסּוּסִים הַשְׁׁתָּרִים יֵצְאִים אֶל אֶרֶץ הַצְּפֹן וְהַלְּבָנִים יֵצְאִים וְאֶל אֶרֶץ הַתְּמִין; הַכְּרָדִים יֵצְאִים אֶל אֶרֶץ הַמּוֹרֵב וְהַשְׁׁרָקִים יֵצְאִים אֶל אֶרֶץ הַבְּרִידִים after the *הַבְּרִידִים* appears in the received text after at the beginning of v. 7; וְהַאֲמַצִּים is a misplaced erroneous gloss to *הַבְּרִידִים*. According to Duhr, *Die Zwölf Propheten* (Tübingen, 1910) p. 92, the black horses go to the north, the white ones to the west, the spotted ones to the south, and the sorrels do not start at all.

<sup>15</sup> In the Babylonian Nimrod epic (cf. ZDMG 64, p. 712, n. 2) this region is called the mountain of *Māš* (cf. שׁ, Gen. 10 23). There, at the

themselves at the head of the armies attacking the Persians. The prophet says that he saw four chariots, with sorrel, black, white, and gray horses,<sup>6</sup> between the two mountains,<sup>15</sup> going forth to<sup>16</sup> the four winds of heaven to make a stand against<sup>17</sup> the lord of the whole earth, *i. e.* the Persian king.<sup>18</sup> The fight will begin in the north. JHVH will satisfy His fury<sup>19</sup> on the north country.

The crown<sup>20</sup> for the Davidic scion, Zerubbabel, is ready. The prophet says, he was ordered by JHVH to take silver and gold,

end of the world, is the gate through which the sun passes at his rising and setting. It is guarded by a terrific scorpion-man and his wife; see the cut in the translation of *Ezekiel*, in the Polychrome Bible, on the plate facing p. 1, fig. 6. Cf. KAT<sup>3</sup>, 573, n. 5; Jensen, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Straßburg, 1906) p. 24; Ungnad and Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (Göttingen, 1911) pp. 40, 136. The two mountains cannot be Mount Zion and Mount Olivet; they are *mountains of brass*. There are still traces of ancient copper mines in the Lebanon.—If the clause *the mountains are mountains of brass* is a gloss, the two mountains, between which Zechariah saw the four chariots, may be Mount Zion and Mount Olivet; but the glossator referred *the two mountains* to Lebanon and Antilebanon.

<sup>16</sup> The omission of the preposition **ל** after **אללה** is due to haplography; cf. Assyr. *ana erbîti šârē*, e. g. in 1. 156 of the Flood Tablet.

<sup>17</sup> The phrase **העומדים על ארון כל הארץ**, at the end of c. 4, must be interpreted in the same way; cf. Dan. 8 25 11 14. For **התיציב על** cf. Jer. 46 4, Job 33 5. In Ps. 2 2 it is better to read **יתיצבו** instead of **מתיצבו**; see JHUC, No. 163, p. 90<sup>b</sup>. For **מתיציב** in the present passage we must read **למתיציב**; in Cant. 6 9, on the other hand, we must read **מאמה—מיולה—מאמה—ליולדתת** instead of **לאמה—ליולדתת**; cf. AJSL 19, 7; Haupt, *Biblische Liebeslieder* (Leipzig, 1907) p. 48, n. 12.

<sup>18</sup> Darius calls himself *king of the vast earth*; see Weissbach (cf. n. 1) p. 83, § 1; p. 87, § 2; p. 101, § 2; p. 103, § 2; p. 105, § 2; cf. **ראש הארץ רביה**, Ps. 110 6 (AJSL 23, 232). Cf. also Eduard Meyer, *Ge schichte des Altertums*, vol. iii, § 13.

<sup>19</sup> For **רוּח**, *wrath*, cf. Jud. 8 3, Prov. 29 11 (read **בְּחַתָּה יִשְׁבַּח**); cf. **בְּחַתָּה בְּחַתָּה** (read **בְּחַתָּה יִשְׁבַּח**), **بَاءُ الْمَجَاز**, WdG 2, 160, A). For **הַנִּיחָז** (or rather **וְהַנִּיחָז**) cf. Ezek. 16 42 24 13. Perles' emendation is gratuitous. Duhm (cf. n. 14) p. 92 renders, *Sie haben meinen Geist im Nordlande niedergelassen*. Grotius (cf. n. 12) has correctly, *ibi iram meam contra Chaldaeos susceptam abunde satiarunt*.

<sup>20</sup> The **ו** in **עַטְרוֹת** is dittography of the **ג**; cf. my explanation of **מִצּוֹר**, *Miqçaru* in ZDMG 64, 710, n. 2, l. 11.

which had been brought by some Jewish exiles from Babylon to Jerusalem, and make a crown. He was to tell them:

6, 12 Behold a man named Scion,  
 13 royal majesty will he assume,  
 And sit and rule on his throne,  
 he will also be priest at my right.<sup>21</sup>

There was no reference to the high-priest Joshua. Zerubbabel was to be king and high-priest after the manner of Melchizedek, as we read in Psalm 110 4 which was composed at that time. An enthusiastic follower of Zerubbabel says there:

He swore and will not revoke: Thy throne is for ever,  
 And for ever shalt thou be priest like unto Melchizedek.

In the received text the hemistich *Thy throne is for ever* has been suppressed. The priests were not interested in the restoration of the Davidic kingdom and the national independence of Judah; they were satisfied to continue as a religious sect.<sup>22</sup> Therefore they have suppressed all allusions to Zerubbabel's coronation as much as possible. In the line *royal majesty will he assume* the word *royal* has been eliminated,<sup>23</sup> and

<sup>21</sup> The Hebrew text must be restored as follows:

6, 13. 12<sup>b</sup> הַבָּנָה-אִישׁ צָמָח שָׁמָוֹן וְהַזָּרְשָׁא הָוד מֶלֶכְתָּה  
 וַיֵּשֶׁב וּמִשְׁלָל עַל-כָּסָאנוֹ וְהַיָּה כָּהן לִמְנִינִי:

The Greek Bible (ἐκ δεξιῶν αὐτοῦ) read *λίμνινο*. The gloss means, *There will be scions from him; he will be the founder of a new dynasty.*

<sup>22</sup> See W. Robertson Smith, *The OT in the Jewish Church* (London, 1892) p. 45; cf. EB 2257, 62.

<sup>23</sup> The text of Is. 9 5 was originally

וְהַיִּי עַל-רְאָשׁוֹ עַקְרָתְ הַמְשֻׁרָתָה

See my remarks cited above, in n. 3. In Is. 9 3, on the other hand, we must read:

כִּי-אָתָּה עַל סְבִּלוֹ וְאַתָּה מִתְהַשְּׁכָמֹן  
 שָׁבֵת הַגָּנָשׁ בּוֹ הַחֲתָתָה:

Both סְבִּלוֹ, *they were forced to carry*, and הַשְּׁכָמֹן, *they were forced to shoulder* (Ethiop. አስተም፡) are relative clauses. Cf. above, n. 19 and Haupt, *Micah*, p. 51, n. 30 (AJSL 27, 51). At the end of Zech. 6 a statement such as *כִּי-הַנָּה אֶתְכֶם עַל-יְמִינֵיכֶם* (cf. Deut. 28 1) has been suppressed. The last paragraph of the Book of Haggai (Hag. 2 20-23) stood originally at the end of the first chapter; there it was suppressed by the priests, and subsequently appended at the end of the Book.

throughout this section the name of the high-priest, *Joshua*, has been substituted for the name of the Davidic scion, *Zerubbabel*.

This is well known to all Old Testament critics, but no one has perceived that the same change has been made in c. 3. In the received text we read that the prophet saw Joshua arraigned before the messenger of *JHVH*; but it was not the high-priest Joshua, but the Davidic scion, *Zerubbabel*, and he was not arraigned before the messenger of *JHVH*, but before the envoy of the king.

We know that soon after Zechariah had announced the coronation of *Zerubbabel*,<sup>24</sup> the satrap of Babylonia and Syria, *Vištana*,<sup>25</sup> came to Jerusalem to investigate the charges that had been preferred against Judah in connection with the building of the Temple and the proposed coronation of *Zerubbabel*. In the received text of the Book of Ezra (cc. 4-6) the references to the coronation of *Zerubbabel* are suppressed; we read only of the charges in connection with the rebuilding of the Temple; but the chief object of the visit of the satrap was no doubt the proposed coronation of the Davidic scion. The enemies of the Jews had certainly not failed to apprise the satrap of the impending rebellion. Many Jewish patriots no doubt looked forward to the coming of the satrap with grave apprehensions;<sup>26</sup> but the prophet says he had a vision in which the envoy of the king<sup>27</sup> rebuked the public prosecutor who preferred the charges against *Zerubbabel*. He orders his attendants to invest the Davidic scion with royal robes, and place a diadem on his head.<sup>28</sup> He quashes the indictment of the country on the first

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Eduard Meyer, *Die Entstehung des Judentums* (Halle, 1896) p. 87, n. 3; *Geschichte des Altertums*, vol. iii (Stuttgart, 1901) p. 195, below.

<sup>25</sup> The name תַּתָּנִי (Ezr. 5:3, 6:6, 13) is a corruption of יְשָׁתָנִי; see Haupt, *Esther* (Chicago, 1908) p. 9 (AJSL 24, 105).

<sup>26</sup> J. D. Michaelis says in his *Deutsche Übersetzung des AT*, part 11 (Göttingen, 1782) p. 186: *Dies Machen der Kronen ist wirklich etwas dreist, denn es hätte können als Anfang einer Rebellion gegen den persischen Staat ausgelegt werden.*

<sup>27</sup> We must read in 6:1: מלָךְ יְהוָה instead of מלָךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ, and in v. 2: נִגְעָר יְהוָה בָּךְ instead of נִגְעָר אָדָני בָּךְ. In v. 6 the reading מלָךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ is correct.

<sup>28</sup> We must read at the end of v. 4: אֶתְנוֹ מְלֹכֹתָיו וְהַלְבָשָׁו; cf. Esth. 5:1 (Haupt, *Esther*, p. 43 = AJSL 24, 139). The investment with royal robes

day<sup>29</sup> of the trial for high treason, handing to Zerubbabel a tablet pronouncing his acquittal.

Then the angel of JHVH steps forward, and assures Zerubbabel that, if he will observe the religion of JHVH, He will give him royal rank;<sup>30</sup> Zerubbabel will rule over the nations;<sup>31</sup> but his victory will not be gained by force, but by the spirit of JHVH. The great mountain of the Persian empire will be leveled before him.<sup>32</sup> He concludes with the acclamation All hail to him<sup>33</sup> and abundant grace!

In the received text this vision of Zerubbabel being arraigned before the envoy of the Persian king is mixed up with the vision of the seven-branched candelabrum. According to the received text, two olive-trees stood at the right and left of the candelabrum,<sup>34</sup> and these two olive-trees are supposed to represent the two *sons of oil*, or anointed ones, who stand before the lord of the whole earth. But this phrase means again *who make a stand against the lord of the whole earth*, i. e. the Persian king.<sup>17</sup> The two anointed ones are not Zerubbabel and Joshua—Zechariah did not refer to Joshua—but two angels<sup>10</sup> who are to lead the rebellion of Judah against the Persians. I believe the original reading was not *Sons of Oil*, but Sons of JHVH; in the Hebrew name for angels, *Sons of God*, God is probably a later substitute for JHVH. In the Maccabean period these two angels would have been called Michael and Gabriel who, according to the Targum on 2 Chron. 31:21, annihilated the host of Sennacherib before Jerusalem.<sup>35</sup> Michael is supposed to

and a royal diadem did not necessarily imply that the person so honored was to be an independent king; see Esth. 6:7-9, 8:15, 1 Macc. 10:20-62; cf. Haupt, *Purim*, p. 6, l. 43; p. 7, l. 7; *Esther*, p. 48 = AJSL 24, 144.

<sup>29</sup> Heb. זַיִם אֶחָד, at the end of v. 9, means *first day*, as in Gen. 1:5; cf. Assyr. *îstênu ûmu* (Delitzsch, AG<sup>2</sup>, § 172).

<sup>30</sup> We must read מַלְכָה instead of מַלְכִים in 6:7.

<sup>31</sup> After בְּנֵים we must read, as in Ps. 110:6; cf. above, n. 18.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. my explanation of Ps. 68:17 in AJSL 23, 229, n. 22.

<sup>33</sup> Read תְּשֻׁוֹתָה instead of תְּשֻׁוֹתָה, and לו for לה.

<sup>34</sup> See the cut on p. 84 of C. H. H. Wright's *Zechariah* (London, 1879).

<sup>35</sup> The Targum (ed. Lagarde, p. 354) says, וְשָׁדֵר מִירָא דִּיְהוָה מִיכָּאֵל דְּפָסְחָא בָּאָשָׁא מִנְתָּכָא וְאָקוֹד נִשְׁמְתָהָן בְּנֵיְהָן גְּבָרִיאֵל מַלְאָכָא וְשִׁזְׁיִ בְּלִיְיָא דְּפָסְחָא.

stand at the right hand of God, Gabriel at the left; they are the kings of angels.

The two angels flanking the seven-branched candelabrum remind us of the winged genii touching the sacred tree, which we find on the Assyrian sculptures. One of the Assyrian names of those genii was *šēdu*, and we must evidently substitute *šēdim*, genii,<sup>36</sup> for *zētîm*, olive-trees. I have shown in the notes on the translation of *Ezekiel*,<sup>37</sup> in the Polychrome Bible, that these winged genii on the Assyrian sculptures are the prototypes of our angels, but originally they represent the winds carrying the pollen of the male palm-inflorescences to the female date-palm. The cone-shaped object with which they touch the branches of the sacred tree is, as was pointed out by Dr. Edward B. Tylor, a male palm-inflorescence stripped of its spathe.<sup>38</sup>

In the vision of Zechariah this male palm-inflorescence is called *šibbôleth*. The cuneiform equivalent of *šibbôleth*, Assyr. *šubultu*, is a synonym of *sissinu*<sup>39</sup> which corresponds to *sinnîm* in the Biblical Love-songs and denotes the spadix of a

<sup>36</sup> The passage in the Song of Moses, Deut. 32 17, is later than the Visions of Zechariah; cf. Steuernagel, *Das Deuteronomium* (Göttingen, 1898) p. 117. Ps. 106 is Maccabean. Assyr. *šēdu* is used, not only of cacodemons, but also of agathodemons; cf. e. g. ASKT 99, 44: *šēdi dumqi lamassi dumqi ina zumrišu lû-ka'ân* (KAT<sup>3</sup>, 455, n. 6). The Sumerian equivalent of *šēdu* is *alat*; the synonym of *šēdu*, Assyr. *lamassu* is a Sumerian loanword. In Hos. 12 12 we must read: בְּגַלְלֵל לְשׁוֹרִים וּבְחֹוֹן (Hitzig, Wellhausen, Nowack, Marti). The Jews, of course, may afterwards have regarded Babylonian agathodemons as cacodemons. Sanskrit *dera* means *god*, but Avestan *daêva* denotes an *evil spirit*. Cf. Haupt, *Purim*, p. 10, 1. 33.

<sup>37</sup> See *op. cit.* p. 183, 1. 20.

<sup>38</sup> The spathe of the male palm-inflorescence is called in Arabic: حُرُوق, in Aramaic: מְתַחְלָא; the name for the pollen is طلق, or لقاح, or أجر, or أصلع. Cf. אחא בריה דרבא אמר מנהי כופרא דיכרא לזוקבתא א. צ. כופרא (א. צ. כופרא). Cf. Pes. 56<sup>a</sup>: אָמַר מִנְחַי כּוֹפְרָא דִיכְרָא לְזַוְקְבָתָא. Cf. L. Goldschmidt, *Der babyl. Talmud*, vol. ii (Berlin, 1901) p. 520 (كافور). In Maspero, *The Dawn of Civilization* (London, 1896) p. 555 there is a cylinder representing the gathering of the spathes of male palm-trees.

<sup>39</sup> See ASKT 10, 31-33; cf. Syr. مَتَهِيلٌ وَّ قَدْلَ.

date-palm.<sup>40</sup> Heb. *sibbóleth*, ear, cannot refer to the branch of an olive-tree; olive-trees have no ears, but male palm-inflorescences resemble ears.<sup>41</sup> We must translate Zech. 4:12: *What are the two ears* (spikes, flower-clusters) *in the hands of the two genii at the golden spouts?*<sup>42</sup> (Are they pouring out seed over them?)<sup>43</sup> This last clause is a gloss, and the whole

<sup>40</sup> *Sissinnu* means *spike*, then especially *spadix* of a date-palm; cf. ZDMG 63, 508, l. 4.

<sup>41</sup> See the cuts in PSBA, June, 1890, plate ii, figures 5 and 7.

<sup>42</sup> Or nozzles. *Nozzle* is a diminutive of *nosc*. Luther has correctly *Schneuzen*. The LXX has  $\mu\nu\xi\omega\tau\bar{\eta}\rho$  =  $\mu\nu\kappa\tau\bar{\eta}\rho$ ; the Vulgate, *rostra*; the Peshita, *سَمْعَةٍ*. All these words denote the *spout* or *nozzle* of a lamp in which the wick is burned. The German term is *Tülle* (French *douille*) or *Dochtrohr*. Cf. Fleischer's remarks in Levy's Chaldee dictionary, vol. i, p. 418<sup>a</sup>, below. The Targum has in the present passage צְנַתְּרִין אַסְקָרָטְנוּ, which is the Greek *ἐσχαρίς*, *pan*, *basin*. Nor does צְנַתְּרִין mean *pipe* in the Second Targum to Esther; see *Hagiographa Chaldaice*, ed. Lagarde, p. 228, l. 15; cf. the translation on p. 247 of Paulus Cassel, *Das Buch Esther* (Berlin, 1891). For the insertion of the *t* cf. modern Arabic شَكَار = شَكَّار, *soot*. König compares this *t* to the  $\delta$  in *ἀνδρός*, but the infixed *t* in צְנַתְּרִין was separated from the *n* by a vowel. Heb. צְנַתְּרִין is, of course, connected with צְנַור, which means *spout*, *socket* of a door in which the pivot turns, also (in the *Pirqe de-Rabbi Eliezer*, exvi) *pudendum mulieris*, just as בְּתַת denotes both *door-socket* (Lat. *cardo femina*) and *pudendum mulieris*. This word must be restored in Am. 4:2:

וונשא פתקן בציגות ואחרותן בסירות ופרטים פרטים תצאנה והשלכתנה חרבונה:

Your lap will be lifted with hooks,  
your rump with grapnels;  
In scraps will ye be dragged out  
to rot in the sun.

Lit. *ye will be cast into the heat*; cf. Ps. 32:4. Houtsma's emendation בְּחָרֶף וּבְקִיזִׁיר (ZAT 27, 58) is gratuitous. We use *socket* (or *nozzle*) also for the small hollow tube or depression in a candlestick which holds the candle. Aram. בְּצִינָה, *lamp*, denotes also the funnel-shaped hole of the upper millstone (Pes. 94<sup>b</sup>; cf. BT 2, 667). Heb. צָנָר means also *hook*; cf. צָנָרִית. Syr. قُلْبَةٌ denotes a *fish-hook* or *fishing line*. In modern Arabic we have صَنْارَة with the same meaning. In German, *Angel* means both *fish-hook* and *hinge*. Shakespeare uses *angle* in the sense of *fish-hook*. The name *England* is derived from the *Angles*, and the *Angles* were anglers.

<sup>43</sup> The prefixed **ה** in **הMRIKIM** is interrogative. The **מ** in **מעליהם** is due

verse is a variant to the question in the preceding verse, *What are these two genii on the right and left of the candelabrum?*

On some of the Assyrian sculptures the sacred tree has but seven branches<sup>44</sup> so that it resembles a seven-branched lamp-stand, just as the sacred candelabrum figured on the Arch of Titus<sup>45</sup> has seven branches. We find a seven-branched palm also upon a coin of the Maccabees.<sup>46</sup> Robertson Smith remarked in his *Religion of the Semites* (London, 1894) p. 488: In most of the Assyrian examples it is not easy to draw the line between the candelabrum and the sacred tree crowned with a star or crescent moon, and Stanley E. Cooke says (EB 647): It is not impossible that the candelabrum was originally a representation of the sacred seven-branched tree, possibly indeed the tree of life. Some of the representations of the sacred tree on the Assyrian monuments are so conventionalized that they look more like a lamp-stand than like a date-palm. The Jewish exiles could not fail to be influenced by the rich imagery of Babylonian art by which they were surrounded.<sup>47</sup>

Chapters 3 and 4 of the Visions of Zechariah may be translated as follows:

*Zerubbabel before the Envoy of the King.*

3, 1 Then He showed me Zerubbabel<sup>a</sup> standing before the envoy<sup>48</sup> of the king<sup>β</sup> with the prosecutor<sup>49</sup> at his right to prosecute 2 him. The envoy<sup>γ</sup> said to the prosecutor,<sup>49</sup> My lord<sup>δ</sup> will to dittography. For read **הזהב** **הזרע**; the Heb. term for *pollen* is said to be **כַּרְבָּל**, but this is doubtful. For the confusion of **הזהב** and **הזרע** in the two clauses cf. JBL 31, 130, l. 1.

<sup>44</sup> See *e. g.* PSBA, June, 1890, plate iii, fig. 14.

<sup>45</sup> See the cut on p. 218 of the translation of the *Psalms* in the Polychrome Bible.

<sup>46</sup> See EB 646, below.

<sup>47</sup> See Geo. A. Smith (cf. n. 4) p. 276. Rothstein (cf. n. 6) p. 139 emphasizes the point that it is irrelevant for his purpose whether or not Babylonian ideas underly the Visions of Zechariah. If he had considered this question, he would probably have given a better interpretation.

<sup>48</sup> Vištana, the satrap of Syria; cf. above, n. 25.

<sup>49</sup> The public prosecutor (crown prosecutor, district attorney) of the Persian government. The modern Heb. term is **קָצִינָגָר** = *κατήγωρ* = *κατήγορος*.

rebuke thee, O prosecutor;<sup>e</sup> is not this a brand plucked from  
 3 the fire?<sup>50</sup> Zerubbabel<sup>f</sup> was clad in soiled garments when he  
 4 stood before the envoy. Then the envoy began to speak and  
 said to those who stood before him as follows, Take away his  
 5<sup>a</sup> soiled garments, () and invest him with royalty,<sup>g</sup> <sup>h</sup> placing a  
 9 'diadem on his head. The stone tablet which I shall give  
 to<sup>51</sup> Zerubbabel<sup>k</sup>—<sup>λ</sup>I am inscribing its inscription thereon,<sup>μ</sup>  
 quashing the indictment against that country(<sup>ν</sup>) on the first day.<sup>ξ</sup>  
 5<sup>b</sup> Thereupon they set the <sup>ο</sup>diadem upon his head, and invested  
 him with royal garments.[<sup>π</sup>]

6 Then the angel of JHVH stepped forward, and<sup>ρ</sup> solemnly  
 7 addressed Zerubbabel<sup>σ</sup> as follows, Thus JHVH Sabaoth has  
 said, If thou wilt walk in my ways and observe my cult,<sup>52</sup> then

(α) 3, 1 the high-priest Joshua    (β) JHVH    (γ) 2 JHVH    (δ) JHVH  
 (ε) 2 JHVH will rebuke thee, who has chosen Jerusalem    (ζ) 3 Joshua  
 (η) 4 festival dresses    (Ω) 5<sup>a</sup> I said    (ι) clean    (κ) 9 Joshua  
 (λ) 9 on one stone there are seven eyes<sup>53</sup>    (μ) says JHVH Sabaoth  
 (ν) 4 he said to him, See, I have removed thy guilt from thee

<sup>50</sup> The king will consider it ridiculous that this stripling (cf. n. 3) should be accused of attempting to overthrow the Persian empire. *Gebrannte Kinder scheuen das Feuer*. The lesson which the Jews received in 586 will suffice for some time to come. The phrase *a brand plucked from the fire* is, of course, not borrowed from Amos (4 11). It is a proverbial expression.

<sup>51</sup> Lit. *which I have set before Zerubbabel*, i. e. *which I shall place at the disposal of Z.* For זָבֵב see Haupt, *Esther*, p. 26 = AJSL 24, 122, and for the perfect instead of the future cf. G-K<sup>28</sup>, § 106, m.

<sup>52</sup> Lit. *my observance*, my ceremonial.

<sup>53</sup> Some of the official documents in Babylonia have seven eyes (or rosettes) representing the seven planets, *i. e.* Sun, Moon, Mars, Mercury, Jupiter, Venus, Saturn. We find these symbols *e. g.* on a black stone tablet recording the investiture of a priest of Nebo at Borsippa. This explanation was suggested to Sellin by Friedrich Delitzsch; cf. H. G. Mitchell in *The International Critical Commentary* on Haggai and Zechariah (New York, 1912) p. 158. Josephus (*Ant.* iii, 6, 7) says that the lights of the golden candelabrum in the Temple correspond to the number of the seven planets; cf. Gunkel, *Schöpfung und Chaos*, p. 130; Mitchell, *op. cit.* p. 163. Vištana was satrap of Syria and Babylonia. Zechariah hoped that he would hand Zerubbabel a cuneiform Babylonian tablet acquitting him of all charges of high treason and creating him King of Judea under Persian suzerainty.

thou shalt also rule  $\tau$  over the nations,<sup>31</sup> and I shall give thee  
 8 royal rank<sup>v</sup> among {those who sit before thee.} Hear, O  $\phi$ Zerubb-  
 4, 6 babel, thou and thy companions! { } []  $\chi$ Not by force, nor by  
 power, but by my spirit wilt thou win, has JHVH Sabaoth said.  
 7 What art thou, O great mountain?<sup>32</sup> before Zerubbabel thou  
 wilt become a plain. He will gain the  $\psi$ principality. All hail  
 to him<sup>33</sup> and abundant grace!

(ξ) 10 on that day, says JHVH Sabaoth, ye will invite one another  
 under vines and fig-trees (ο) 5<sup>b</sup> clean

(π) 7, 8 those who stand are foreshadowing men<sup>ωω</sup><sup>54</sup>

(ρ) 6 the angel of JHVH

(σ) Joshua

(τ) 7 my Temple and guard my forecourts

(υ) access

(φ) 8 high-priest Joshua

(χ) 4, 6 this is JHVH's word to Zerubbabel as follows (ψ) 7 the stone

(ωω) 3, 8 for lo, I bring my servant called Scion.

### *The Seven-branched Candelabrum.*

4, 1 Then the angel who talked with me came again, and roused  
 2 me like a man roused out of his sleep. He said to me, What  
 seest thou? I said, I see a candelabrum of  $\alpha$ gold with a  
 3 fountain<sup>55</sup> on the top and seven lamps<sup>β</sup> thereon,  $\gamma$ and seven  
 tubes for the lamps thereon;<sup>δ</sup> and two genii over it, one on  
 4 the right,<sup>ε</sup> and the other on the left. Then I began to speak  
 5 to the angel,<sup>ξ</sup> saying, What are these, my lord? He<sup>η</sup> answered  
 and said to me, Knowest thou not what these are? I said, No,  
 6<sup>a</sup> my lord. Then he began to speak and said to me as follows,  
 10<sup>b</sup> These seven lamps are the eyes of JHVH that wander over the  
 11 whole earth.<sup>56</sup> Then I began to speak and said to him, What  
 are these two genii on the right of the candelabrum and on  
 13 the left?<sup>γ</sup> He said to me, Knowest thou not what these are?  
 14 I said, No, my lord. Then he said to me, These are the two

<sup>54</sup> Lit. *men of portent*. They foreshadow what is to be done with Zerubbabel. We can hardly suppose that this is a misplaced gloss to 4, 14.

<sup>55</sup> Reservoir.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. 2 Chron. 16 9. The seven lamps represent the seven planets; cf. above, n. 53.

angels who will make a stand against the lord of the whole earth.<sup>17</sup>

(a) 4, 2 solid ( $\beta$ ) of it ( $\gamma$ ) seven ( $\delta$ ) on the top ( $\epsilon$ ) 3 of the fountain  
 ( $\zeta$ ) 4 who talked with me ( $\eta$ ) 5 the angel who talked with me  
 ( $\vartheta$ ) 12 then I began to speak  $\mathfrak{u}$  and said to him, What are these two  
 spikes  $^{40}$  in the hands of the two genii on the golden spouts?  $\mathfrak{xx}^{42}$

(ii) 4,12 a second time

(xx) are they pouring out the seed over them?<sup>43</sup>

The Hebrew text must be restored as follows:

3. יordanî את<sup>א</sup> ורְבָּבָל עַמְדָּה לְפָנֵי מֶלֶךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ וְהַשְּׁטָן עַמְדָּה עַל  
4. יְמִינֵנוּ לְשָׁטָנוּ: וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל הַשְּׁטָן יְגַעַר אֶדְנִי בְּךָ הַשְׁטָן<sup>בָּכָר</sup>  
5. הַלָּא וְהַאֲדָם מִצְלָמָאֵשׁ: וַיַּרְבָּבָל<sup>ג</sup> הִיה לְבָשׂ בְּגָדִים צְוֹאִים וַיַּעֲמֹד  
5<sup>a</sup> לְפָנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ: וַיַּעֲנֵן הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל הַעֲמֹדִים לְפָנֵי לְאַמְרֵה הַסִּירָוָן  
9 הַבְּנָדִים הַצְּאִים מִעַלְיוֹ<sup>ד</sup>) וַיַּהֲבִשׁוּ אֶתְנוֹ מִלְכֹותָה<sup>ה</sup>: וַיָּשִׂימוּ צְנִיף<sup>ו</sup> עַל  
5<sup>b</sup> רָאשׁוּ וְכֵן הַגָּהָה הַאֲבָן אֲשֶׁר נָתַתִּי לְפָנֵי וַיַּרְבָּבָל<sup>ז</sup> הַנְּגִינִי מִפְתָּח  
פְּתַחְתָּה<sup>ז</sup> וּמִשְׁתַּחַת אֶת עַזְן הָרָצִין הַהִיא בַּיּוֹם אֶחָד<sup>(ז)</sup>: וַיַּשְׂמִיחוּ צְנִיף<sup>ז</sup>  
עַל רָאשׁוּ וַיַּלְבִּשׁוּ בְּגָדִים מִלְכֹות<sup>(ז)</sup>: [בָּגָדִים]  
7. 6. וּמֶלֶךְ יְהוָה עַמְדָּה וַיַּעֲדֵן<sup>ט</sup> בַּרְבָּבָל<sup>ו</sup> לְאַמְרֵה: כִּי אָמַר יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת  
7. 6. אֶם בְּדָרְכֵי תַּלְךְ וְאֶם אֶת מִשְׁמָרוֹתִי תִּשְׁמַר וְגַם אַתָּה תִּדְןֵן<sup>ט</sup> בְּגָנוֹם  
3. 8. וְנָתַתִּי לְךָ מִמְלָכָה<sup>ט</sup> בֵּין<sup>ט</sup> (הַיְשְׁבִּים לְפָנֵיךְ): שְׁמַע נָא<sup>ט</sup> וַיַּרְבָּבָל אַתָּה  
4. 6. וַיַּרְעִיךְ<sup>ט</sup> { } [ ]: אֲלֹא בְּחִיל וְלֹא בְּכָחֵךְ כִּי אֶם בְּרוֹחֵי תִּצְלִיחַ אָמַר יְהוָה  
7. צְבָאוֹת: מַי אַתָּה הַהְרָגֵד הַגָּדוֹל לְפָנֵי וַיַּרְבָּבָל לְמִישֹׁר תְּהִיה וְהַזִּיא  
את<sup>ט</sup> הַרְאָשָׁה תְּשֻׁוֹתָה חַנְן חַנְן לָוּ:

3, 8) כי הגנוי פביה את עבדיו גמה שמו

4, 2.1  
אלֵי מָה אַתָּה רָאָה וְאָמַר רָאִיתִי וְהַנָּה מִנּוֹתָה: וַיֹּאמֶר  
3 וְשְׁבָעָה גִּרְתָּ בְּעֵלָה וְשְׁבָעָה מִזְקָתָה לְפִרְתּוֹת אֲשֶׁר עַלְיָהָ: וְשָׁנָים  
4 שִׁידִים עַלְיָה אֶחָד מִמִּינָה וְאֶחָד עַל שְׁמַאֲלָה: וְאָעַן וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל הַמֶּלֶךְ  
5 לְאָמַר מָה אֱלֹה אָדָנִי: וַיַּעֲנֵנִי וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל הַלֹּא יִדְעַת מָה הַמָּה אֱלֹה  
10<sup>a</sup> וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא אָדָנִי: וַיַּעֲנֵנִי וַיֹּאמֶר אֶלְيָה לְאָמַר: שְׁבָעָה הַפְּרָתָה עַנִּי  
11 יְהוָה הַנָּה מִשׁׁׁוֹטָטוֹת בְּכָל הָאָרֶץ: וְאָעַן וַיֹּאמֶר אֶלְיוֹ מָה שְׁנִי הַשִּׁידִים  
13 הָאֱלֹה עַל יְמִין הַמְנֻורָה וְעַל שְׁמַאֲלָה: וַיֹּאמֶר אֶלְיָה לְאָמַר הַלֹּא  
14 יִדְעַת מָה אֱלֹה וַיֹּאמֶר לֹא אָדָנִי: וַיֹּאמֶר אֶלְיָה שְׁנִי בְּנֵי יְהוָה הַעֲמִידִים  
עַל אֲדוֹן כָּל הָאָרֶץ:

(a) 4, 2 כָּלָה (b) 4 יְהָ (c) 3 הַגְּלָה  
(d) 4 הַלְּבָר בַּי (e) 5 הַמֶּלֶךְ הַלְּבָר בַּי  
(f) 12 וְאָעַן<sup>b</sup> וַיֹּאמֶר אֶלְיוֹ מָה שְׁתִי שְׁבָלִים { } אֲשֶׁר בִּידֵי שְׁנִי { } הַשִּׁידִים עַל  
צְנָחוֹת הַוּבָב<sup>xx</sup>

(xx) *קְמַרִיקִים עַל־יְהָה הַזְּרוּעַ*

(yy) 4, 12 שְׁנִירָה

## "Work" in Ecclesiastes

HINCKLEY G. MITCHELL

TUFTS COLLEGE

THE book of Ecclesiastes is in some respects one of the most interesting in the Old Testament. The linguist, for example, finds in it grammatical and lexical peculiarities in plenty and the critic a curious problem of origin and composition. More important, however, than its linguistic form or its literary history is the tenor of its content in comparison with the teaching of other parts of the Hebrew Scriptures. It was inevitable, therefore, that it would provoke discussion of its essential merits and find admirers to commend it to the general public. The latter office has been well performed by Professor John F. Genung, whose *Words of Koheleth* is an enthusiastic presentation of the ideas he finds in the work and is excellent reading. It was this book that suggested the present paper by the place it assigns to work in the experience and the philosophy of the Preacher. The subject is treated at length in the "Introductory Study," where (pp. 83 f), after quoting 3:22, the significant part of which Professor Genung renders, "there is nothing better than that a man should rejoice in his own work," he proceeds as follows:

"There is nothing, I am inclined to think, that has had such scant justice at the hands of Koheleth's interpreters as this his gospel of work. It has been almost invariably ignored by the side of the eating and drinking with which it is so generally associated. Koheleth has accordingly—or a part of him, in these modern times of critical dissection—been identified with Epicureanism; as if after all his desperately earnest quest for the highest good of life, he had reduced his ideal to praise of gorging and guzzling and what young folks call 'having a

good time.' No book was ever less Epicurean than this. Note the passages wherein he mentions eating and drinking, and you always find a working man there, a man who can draw up to table with a good healthful appetite, and sleep sweetly whether he eat little or much, because he has found his work, the expression of his plans and his skill and his individuality, and takes it as what God meant him to have, and makes it his own by rejoicing in it. There is nothing better for man than this, Koheleth avers; nay, in the solid and usable sense this comprehends it all." He adds, on pp. 89 f.: "There are but two possessions," says Professor Carl Hilty, "which may be attained by persons of every condition, which never desert one through life, and are a constant consolation in misfortune. These are work and love. Those who shut these blessings out of life commit a greater sin than suicide. They do not even know what it is that they throw away. Rest without work is a thing which in this life one cannot endure." Of these two possessions Koheleth, rebuking the too self-indulgent dreams of his age, has fallen back on the first, on work; and out of it, as accepted in joy, has drawn for life a noble resource of courage and cheer."

The thought here presented is indeed an inspiring one, and "worthy of all acceptance," but Professor Barton seems not to have found it in the passage cited or elsewhere in the book of Ecclesiastes, and this fact suggests the question whether it can properly be attributed to the original author of the work.

The first step in the discussion of this question is the examination of the terms employed in Ecclesiastes, or that part of it which may safely be regarded as genuine,<sup>1</sup> of the sort of activity, or its product, that may, with more or less propriety, be called "work." The Hebrew verb that is so rendered in

<sup>1</sup> The following are the passages the genuineness of which is denied or suspected by Professor Barton in his commentary: 2:26a; 3:17; 4:5; 5:3/2; 7:6a; 7:1a. 3. 5-9. 11f. 18b-19. 26b. 29; 8:1. 2b-3a. 5-6a. 11-13; 9:17f.; 10:1-3. 8-14a. 15. 18f.; 11:9b; 12:1a. 9-14. They will be ignored in the present discussion because, so far as they have any bearing on the result, they are so widely at variance with the rest of the book, that they simply cannot have come from the same author, but must have been added by some person or persons for the purpose of neutralizing his teaching.

2 11 and 17 and 3 9 is the one (*aśah*) that is generally translated *do*, in the sense of *effect*, *accomplish*, even in Ecclesiastes, and might as well have been so translated in these three passages. Its meaning is clearly seen in 2 2, "I said of laughter, It is mad; and of mirth, What doeth it?" where it is implied, not only that these indulgences actually effect nothing of real value, but that it is not in them, however much they may be practiced, to effect anything of the kind; also in 11 5, where God is described as the one who "doeth everything," that is, not only does all that is done, but never exerts his power without accomplishing the desired object.

Such being the force of the verb, the noun (*ma'aseh*) derived from it naturally has a corresponding meaning. In other words, it is used of effective activity, or the product of it. A good example of the former of these usages is found in a passage already quoted (11 5), where the author makes the comparison. "As thou knowest not the way of the wind, . . . even so thou knowest not the work of God." In the other passages in which the phrase, "the work of God," appears (3 11; 7 13; 8 17) it seems to refer to the product of the divine activity in creation, and perhaps in history.

The same meanings are found in the passages in which the work in question is the work of human beings. Thus, in 9 10 the reader is warned that there is "no work," no productive employment such as the upper world affords, "in Sheol"; and the word seems to be used in the same sense in the phrase "skilful work," or "skill in work," of 4 4; but in 2 17; 5 6, and 8 9 it doubtless denotes the product of human activity. So, also, in 4 3, with its "evil work," and 8 14, where "the work of the wicked" and "the work of the righteous" are contrasted. The clearest cases are 1 14; 2 4 and 11, and 9 7, where the noun has the plural form. Here belongs, also, if it is properly translated in the English Version, 3 22 (which Professor Genung [p. 83] quotes incorrectly, substituting "work" for "works"), in support of his contention that the "joy" which the Preacher regarded as the highest good "was not in the thing done, but in the doing of it."

The substitution of the singular for the plural in the passage

just cited is plainly a slip of the pen or a typographical error, since in his translation on another page (256) he uses the latter. In his comments on the passage, however, he again lays himself open to criticism, when he says that "the word translated *works* is the one that represents work in its nobler creative aspect," and refers to p. 246, whence it appears that *ma'āsēh* is the word intended. But, as has just been shown, this word is used of the bad practices of men as well as of their creative activity. It will therefore be necessary to insist on the broader definition, effective activity or the product of it, already given. The word *ma'āsēh* always means work in one of these senses in Ecclesiastes, and conversely, wherever the English word in either of these senses is found, it is a translation of *ma'āsēh*, except in one case, in 9:1, where the corresponding Aramaic word, *'abhadh*, in the plural is substituted.

The word "work" in Ecclesiastes, since it always denotes effective activity or the product of it, implies that the thing undertaken is within the capacity of the doer, but it does not indicate to what degree his resources are taxed in achieving the desired result. In point of fact, there are some things that require very little effort and others that can only be done with great, or the utmost, exertion. Now, the Hebrew, like other languages, has a verb (*'amal*) that denotes wearisome activity, and therefore, in the English Version, is always and properly rendered "labor," while the noun derived from it is represented by the corresponding English noun.

The difference, in general, between "labor" and "work," and the relation between them, is clearly illustrated in the book of Ecclesiastes. In the first place, since there is no limit to the ability of the Almighty, *'āsah* is constantly, but *'amal* never, used of the divine activity or the outcome of its application. Second, since there are things which, although they are within man's capacity, can only be achieved by wearisome exertion, both terms are sometimes used of the same example of human activity. A good illustration is found in 3:9, where the Preacher asks, "What profit hath he that worketh in that wherein he laboreth?" that is, what profit has the doer of anything that he can accomplish only by wearisome effort?

and another in 211, where he describes his achievements, first as "the works that my hands had wrought," and then as "the labor that I had labored to do," that is, the results that, by wearisome effort, I had produced. Third, since there is a limit to human capacity, *'amal* is used where *'ásah* would not be appropriate, as, for example, in 817, where the Preacher complains that, "however much man may labor to seek," that is, however laboriously man may seek, he is not able to comprehend "the work of God." At first sight 516 seems to be a similar case, but the man who has attained wealth by his labor can hardly be said to have failed of accomplishment, although he cannot carry away the fruits of his labor "in his hand."

Like *'ásah*, *'amal* has a nominal derivative with differing meanings. In the first place, and oftenest, it presents the thought of the verb in the form of a substantive. It has this sense in 13, where it is employed as a kind of internal accusative, with the verb from which it is derived; a construction that is found, also, in 220 and 22, 518, and 99. In 224, by virtue of its verbal character, it becomes about equivalent to an infinitive, for, in this passage "in his labor" means in his laboring, or, to use the English idiom, while he labors. See, also, 815 and 99, and, further, 313, where the English Version has "in all his labor," that is, so long as he labors. Here, doubtless, belongs 519, to which it will be necessary to return in another connection. Finally, the verbal noun occurs in various constructions in 48 and 9, 515, and 67.

The passages in which *'amal* denotes the product of wearisome activity are less numerous, but there are indubitable examples. The first is in 211, where, as has already been shown, *'amal* is used of the same results of the Preacher's activity as *ma'ašeḥ*. In 218-21 there are no fewer than three cases of this kind, for, of course, when the Preacher says he "must leave it," he means the "labor," that is, the product of the labor, to which he has just referred. In 46, too, where the author declares "a handful of rest" to be better than "two handfuls of labor," by "labor" he must mean the fruits of it. In other words, he says he would rather rest a day than have the wages for two days, if he himself had to earn them. To

be sure, the phrase that follows, if it be rendered "and striving after wind," does not favor this interpretation, but the contrary is true if it be rendered "feeding on wind" or "vexation of spirit," for either of which there is the best ancient authority.<sup>2</sup>

There is reason to believe that still a third somewhat differing sense for 'amal is to be found under a mistaken reading in 3 11. The verse is wrongly translated in the Authorized English Version. The American Revision has, "He hath made everything beautiful in its time; also he hath put eternity in their heart, yet so that man cannot find out the work that God hath done from the beginning even to the end." Professor Genung has in some respects improved upon this rendering. He translates, "Everything hath he made beautiful in its time; also he hath put eternity in their heart;—yet not so that man findeth out the work which God hath wrought, from the beginning, and to the end." In the original, however, the word rendered "eternity," as well as "everything," is emphatic. It would therefore be better to render the second clause, "Moreover, eternity hath he put into their hearts." It would also be preferable to connect these words more closely with what follows, for, although the thought of the unchangeableness of God's works is not foreign to the book of Ecclesiastes, being clearly stated in v. 14 of the same chapter, such an expression as "in their hearts," meaning the hearts of certain things, is very rare anywhere in the Old Testament. When, however, these changes have been made, the result is by no means satisfactory. It is still necessary to explain the appearance of the word "eternity" in this connection. How can one who, as did the Preacher, consigned man and beast alike to a death beyond which he saw "no work, or device, or knowledge, or wisdom," have said, or meant to say, that God "hath put eternity," that is, "the idea of eternity," "the effort and ability to conceive it" (Wildeboer), into the hearts of men, and then have lost, as he must have done, the way out of his desperate difficulties?

<sup>2</sup> For the former, see the Greek versions of Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus; for the latter the Vulgate, the Peshitto, and the Targum.

When the biblical student is confronted by such unlikely alternatives he is warranted in resorting to emendation, especially if, as in this case, a better reading "springt in die Augen," forces itself upon his acceptance. It requires only the transposition of two letters. The word rendered "eternity" is *'olam*, which is here written defectively, Transpose the last two of the three consonants composing it (l—m) and the result is the combination (m—l) found in the word *'amal*, labor. The verse will then read, "Everything hath he made beautiful in its time; moreover, labor," that is,—and this constitutes the third usage for the word,—a compulsion to activity, sometimes wearisome, "hath he put into men's hearts, yet not so that they find out the work that God hath done from the beginning to the end." In other words, he asserts that God has implanted in man a disposition which, if not regulated and restrained, impels him (man) to undertake tasks that he has not the ability to accomplish.

The correctness of this emendation, and the interpretation given to the verse as emended, is strongly supported by the following considerations: 1. In the verse preceding the Preacher refers to the "travail," as the English Version has it, "which God hath given to the sons of men to be exercised," busied, "therewith." Now, it is clear that here, as in 1:13, he has in mind the search for wisdom "concerning all that is done under heaven." If so, v. 11, as emended, not only harmonizes with, but furnishes an explanation for, the preceding verse. 2. The emendation suggested brings the passage as a whole into striking accord with 8:17, which reads, "I beheld all the work of God, that man cannot find out the work that is done under the sun, because, however much man may labor to seek," that is, however laboriously he may seek, "he doth not find. Yea, if the wise man think to know, he doth not learn." 3. The reading *'olam*, in 3:11, may be explained as either a copyist's mistake, due to the actual occurrence of this word in v. 14, or to an attempt of a scribe to bring the two passages into harmony with each other.

Two terms, denoting as many phases of activity, especially human, have now been discussed. A third, *'inyan*, which, as

already noted, in the English Version is generally rendered "travail," remains to be considered. It and the verb from which it is derived (*anah*) are found only in Ecclesiastes. Professor Genung prefers *toil* for both, but the latest lexicon defines the verb as the equivalent of "be busied" or "be occupied," and gives the noun a corresponding meaning. The latter seems to be the more defensible explanation. In other words, "*inyan*" denotes "business," regular or continuous employment, without reference to results obtained. That it is incessant, is clear from 2:23, which may be translated, "All his days are troublous, and his business vexatious, even at night his heart resteth not"; and 8:16, where the Preacher cites as an example one "that neither day nor night seeth sleep with his eyes." That it is also, sometimes at least, ineffective, appears from 1:13, 4:8, and 5:14, where "sore travail" and "evil adventure" are about equivalent to the modern expression "poor business".

These are the terms for work in three of its phases that are used in the book of Ecclesiastes. The next step is to consider the field in which the Preacher finds them applied. At first his survey is confined to the limits of his own experience. He represents himself as Solomon. Now, Solomon was a king, and, according to tradition, a very able and wealthy one into the bargain. A person in such circumstances is lifted above the sordid drudgery of life. Not having to work for a living, if he exerts himself, it is in the attainment of things not reckoned among the necessities of existence. The Preacher acts in harmony with the circumstances assumed. He first employs the leisure his wealth procures him in observation of the world about him, not in the desultory way of a dilettante, but with the energy and persistence of a thorough student. "I gave myself," he says, "to seeking and searching by wisdom concerning all that is done under heaven." See 1:13. He did not confine himself to the doings of men, but extended his researches to the work of God in the world. See 3:11. He made a business of becoming wise, and labored early and late as one labors for one's daily bread. He succeeded so far as to acquire wisdom above that of all who had been before him in Jerusalem (1:16), but, because he acquired to gratify himself,

and not to supply a demand in himself or others, he finally tired of his high enterprise and took to a less admirable form of activity.

He turned from the pursuit of knowledge to the enjoyment of his wealth and the manifold pleasures that it could procure him, drawing on his peculiar wisdom to help him in this new field. He gives a list of the means by which he undertook to amuse himself. It sounds like an inventory of the fads and follies of a modern millionaire. First he tried indulgence in wine, to which men in all ages have resorted as the readiest means for securing a pleasurable reaction. He tried it thoroughly. "I searched in my heart," he says, "how to cheer my flesh, my heart leading me wisely." At the same time, always with his finger on his pulse, he tested the effects of folly, "to see what it was good for the sons of men to do under heaven all the days of their lives." See 23. He made a business of these pursuits, but, as they yielded no tangible results, he next devoted himself to the production of "works" that would increase his fame as well as please his taste and afford him comfort. He built houses, planted vineyards, made gardens and parks, and pools to water his plantations, and surrounded himself with servants male and female in great numbers. Meanwhile, in spite of the immense outlays required for these great works, his wealth in flocks and herds, silver and gold, and the costly presents of kings and princes steadily increased, and he added to his luxuries singers male and female; also, following the practice of oriental monarchs, an extensive harem. See 24ff. In short, as he says, he denied himself nothing that promised gratification to his luxurious senses. Thus he became a great voluptuary, a greater than all who had been before him in Jerusalem. See 29.

The Preacher, it will have been noticed, is very specific with reference to his own fields of effort. When he comes to consider the world at work he is overwhelmed by the multifold activities in which men are engaged "under the sun." See 113. He does not attempt to catalogue them,—for 31-8 is rather a list of divine appointments,—but either directly or indirectly he makes the reader acquainted with some of them. In the

first place, it appears from 5:19 that there were some besides himself who, in the popular sense of the word, could afford to pursue wisdom or pleasure. There were, however, others, and indeed great masses of men, to whom life was only a struggle to satisfy their physical needs. He must have had them especially in mind when he wrote (6:7), "all the labor of man is for his mouth, and yet the appetite is not satisfied." Among them were the husbandmen, to whom, and to the insistence of their calling, he refers in 11:4 and 6. The Preacher found, also, among his contemporaries a class in whom, according to 4:4, pride was the dominant motive, and among whom there was sometimes bitter rivalry and competition. But it is those who were impelled by the desire for wealth to whom he gives the most serious attention. He pictures their efforts in 2:21ff., the skill they expend, the anxiety they suffer, and the effect of the tension upon their health and their happiness. He returns to the subject in 4:8 and 5:13ff.

It is not necessary to pursue this line of thought farther. The Preacher, according to his own showing, evidently was, or had been, a busy man, and he found in the world about him nothing more impressive than the varied activity among men, excited, as he explained, by an inner necessity implanted in all alike by their Creator. It is this activity which, with its product, when it is effective, he calls work, or, if it seriously taxes the ability of the agent, whether it is effective or not, labor.

What, now, is the attitude of the Preacher toward work as he knew it by experience and observation? Professor Genung finds it noble, and in the highest degree inspiring, a veritable "gospel" to the appreciative reader; and he describes the workingman, according to Ecclesiastes, as "a man who can draw up to table with a good healthy appetite, sleep sweetly whether he eat little or much, because he has found his work, the expression of his plans and his skill and his individuality, and takes it as what God meant him to have, and makes it his own by rejoicing in it." It is doubtful, however, if this is a defensible interpretation. In the first place, it is significant that, whatever else he may say with reference to his own or

others' activity, he finally recognizes in it a form of labor, that is, a wearisome tax on human ability. Thus, although in 13ff. he does not use the term "labor" of his own search for wisdom, in 817 he represents any such search as laborious, and in 211 he describes the works by which he undertook to amuse himself as the products of labor. It is labor, also, by which the husbandman obtains his bread (67), the artisan his skill (44), and the man of means his wealth. See 516. It should also be noted that the Preacher several times prefixes to the word "labor" the modifier "all," which, like "much" or "great," largely increases the peculiar significance of the noun. See 13; 218. 19. 20. 22; 48; 518. These passages are sufficiently convincing, but, when one recalls that in 48 and elsewhere the Preacher represents labor as a constant factor in human life, the total impression is that to him, so far from being welcome and agreeable, it was a source of dissatisfaction and irritation. It is not surprising, therefore, to find him comparing rest and labor to the disadvantage of the latter, declaring in 46 that "a handful of rest is better than two handfuls of labor." He expresses himself more strongly in 223, where he says of the man who labors for wealth that "his days are painful and his business grievous; yea, even at night his heart hath no rest"; and in 517, where he declares that "all his days also he is in darkness, and mourning, and great vexation, and sickness, and wrath." Here, also, belongs the expression "poor," literally "bad," "business" in 113 and 48, and "business" without the modifier, but with the parenthetical remark, "for also there is that neither day nor night seeth sleep with his eyes," in 816.

It is, however, the profitlessness of labor to which the Preacher refers with most feeling. In 217 he says he "hated life" because the work done under the sun was grievous to him, in that it was all "vanity and strife after wind." The last clause must not be misunderstood. It does not mean that the work of the world is without results. The term used, as has been shown, is one that implies achievement. The thought is that the results achieved, in view of certain facts that are cited in the same connection, are not worth the exertion

required to produce them. Thus, in v. 15 the search for wisdom is pronounced vain because it does not preserve the winner from the common fate of all mankind, and in v. 18 f. the pursuit of wealth is represented as equally vain because the possessor cannot himself enjoy it indefinitely or make sure that, when he is obliged to part with it, it will fall to worthy heirs. See also 5 13ff. A similar explanation must be supplied in 1 13 and 2 11, where no reason is given. These passages, therefore, have a double bearing. They show, not only, negatively, that the author of them had no love for work for its own sake, but, positively, that thought, desire, and purpose in him were focused upon the results in wisdom, pleasure, or some other fancied good, of his endeavors.

This view of the Preacher's attitude toward work seems inevitable, but there are some passages, not in the list of interpolations above given, which seem to forbid it. One of them is 2 10, or the latter part of it; but, since its phraseology is peculiar and to some extent ambiguous, it will be best to leave it until two or three others that have been interpreted as teaching a gospel of work have been considered.

Take, first, 3 12f. Here the Preacher asserts that there is nothing better for men than "to rejoice, and get good," literally "in their life," that is, as the English Version has it, "so long as they live." He enlarges upon this declaration by saying, "Yea, that every man eat and drink, and see good in all his labor; it is the gift of God." Here it is perfectly clear that to the author's mind the highest good is enjoyment, and that it is derived, to some extent at least, from eating and drinking. It is equally evident that, as in v. 12 the object of enjoyment is not life but the good acquired during life, so in v. 13 it is not labor but the good experienced during labor. In other words, this enjoyment is an offset to, and a solace for, the wearisome activity in which men in general are engaged; and it is this offset or solace that is the gift of God.

The same ideas are somewhat differently, but clearly enough, expressed in 5 18: "Behold that which I have seen to be good and comely is to eat, and drink, and see good in all one's labor, wherein one laboreth under the sun, all the days of the

life that God hath given one; it is one's portion." It is therefore necessary to interpret "rejoice in his labor" in the next verse as meaning "rejoice while he labors". A more convincing passage, however, is 8 15, where the Preacher says, "I commended enjoyment, declaring that there is nothing better for man under the sun than to eat, and drink, and enjoy, and let this accompany him in his labor all the days of his life which God hath given him under the sun"; which is expanded in 9 7ff. as follows: "Go, eat with joy thy bread, and drink with a merry heart thy wine, for God hath accepted thy works. Let thy garments always be white, and let not oil be lacking on thy head. See life with the woman whom thou lovest all the days of thy vain life which he hath given thee under the sun, for it is thy portion in life, and in thy labor wherein thou laborest under the sun." In this passage the author's rule of life is presented in its most attractive form. It is based on the doctrine of divine sovereignty and predestination. He believed that the course of things in the world and in the lives of men was ordained by God (11 5); also that in the course of events the evil that men suffered was, to some extent at least, offset by a certain amount of good placed within their reach. See 3 1ff.; 7 14. This is the gift of God, and man's portion. See 2 24; 9 9. Work, as has been shown, he like the author of Gen. 3, reckoned an evil to which men were inwardly urged, but from which they could to a great extent escape, if they were willing to deny themselves the exceptional acquisitions on which human energy was expended, and for which, so far as necessary, they could find a solace in the homely pleasures of the simple life.

This in outline is the teaching of Ecclesiastes in the passages in which the Preacher most fully and clearly unfolds his philosophy of life. It remains to examine two that are said to tell a different story. One of them is 2 10, which, it will be remembered, was cited only to be reserved for later consideration. Professor Genung renders the latter part of it, "My heart derived joy from all my labor, and this was my portion from all my labor" and comments thereon as follows: "The joy comes, it is to be noted, from the labor, not from the

eventualized results of it or from the reward that he gets for it." But is this the proper interpretation of the passage? The word that Professor Genung here renders "joy" is the same that in vv. 1 f. he translates "pleasure." But in v. 1 the pleasure by which the Preacher proposes to test his heart is the passing enjoyment of what he calls "good," that is, the things that are generally regarded as blessings, and in the first part of v. 10 itself the parallelism,

"Whatever mine eyes desired I kept not from them,  
I withheld not my heart from any joy,"

makes evident that the joy in question is the enjoyment of the objects of desire, such as the houses, vineyards, etc. previously enumerated. This being the case, the verse is thus far in general agreement with the passages already discussed, but it differs from them in this, that, while they have in view the simple blessings that are within the reach of the great majority of mankind, it refers to the luxuries which the Preacher found not worth the effort necessary to obtain them.

In the latter part of the verse one naturally expects to find a continuation of the same line of thought, the joy there meant being the temporary enjoyment of the luxuries to which the author turned when he abandoned the pursuit of wisdom. But how could anyone call such joy his "portion" and in the same breath (v. 11) describe the labor from which it came as utterly vain and unprofitable? The contradiction is undeniable, and the only way to remedy it is to refer 10b to an editor who had the language of the book at his tongue's end, but had not taken the trouble to master its meaning; when, of course, it ceases to be a matter of importance whether the labor intended is effort for its own sake or the results of endeavor.

The latter is the more natural interpretation, and it is supported by 3 22, the second of the passages requiring special attention. It was quoted in part at the beginning of the paper, and again in the discussion of the term *ma'āshēh*, work, where attention was called to the error in Professor Genung's translation of it on p. 83 of his *Words of Koheleth*. The whole verse is properly rendered in the English Version, where it reads, "Wherefore I saw that there is nothing better than that a

man should rejoice in his works, for that is his portion; for who shall bring him to see what shall be after him?" Here the author, by the word "works," undoubtedly, as has been shown, means the results of human activity, probably having in mind such works as are described in 24ff. In any case, it is clear that the joy here commended is the enjoyment, not, as Professor Genung says, of work for its own sake, but of the products or achievements of such activity, and that, therefore, there is the same disagreement between this passage and 24, etc., that there was between 10b and 10a of chapter 2; that is, that this verse, like 210b, is an interpolation. The clause, "that is his portion," points in the same direction, for, according to the Preacher, as appears from 224f., the only enjoyment worth having is not won by man himself by any amount of effort, but is the gift of God.<sup>3</sup> See also 313; 518f.; 99. If it should be objected that 41, the first words of which should be rendered, "Again I saw," witnesses to the genuineness of this verse, the answer would be an easy one, namely, that, since the verb "saw" is not used in the same sense in the two cases, it is more than probable that the verb "return" in the sense of "again" is itself an interpolation, having been added by the same thoughtless editor by whom 322 was inserted. For a similar case, see Gen. 2818.<sup>4</sup>

The elimination of these spurious passages leaves the matter of the Preacher's attitude toward work consistent and intelligible. He found no "gospel" in it, but regarded it as a folly to be shunned when it was not a misfortune to be endured. The only comfort he found for himself or his fellows "under the sun" he found in the satisfaction of the normal physical appetites while they endured. Note the limitations in this statement. First, it is only the cravings of his physical, as

<sup>3</sup> In v. 25 read, with the Greek and Syriac versions, "who eateth or drinketh except from him," that is God?

<sup>4</sup> It is possible that in 97 the clause, "for God hath already accepted thy works," ought also to be omitted. It bears a certain resemblance to those above considered, disturbs the rhythm of the passage in which it is found, and apparently contradicts 91, where the Preacher declares that man's experience of good or evil furnishes no clue to the actual attitude of God toward him.

distinguished from his intellectual or spiritual, nature that he thought it worth while to appease, such attainments as wisdom and righteousness seeming to cost too much labor to be at all profitable. See 1:18; 7:16. Second, he limited himself and his kind to the gratification of the normal appetites, because any excess had to be paid for by increased labor. See 2:11. Finally, since all the enjoyment he could promise himself or anyone else was of a sensual character, he did not expect it to last even until death, but constantly reminded himself and them that beyond a certain stage in life it would grow less and less with increasing years. See 9:6; 11:8. The fact is, that there is no gospel of any kind in the book of Ecclesiastes in its original form and dimensions. Its shallow philosophy ignores all that is best and noblest in human character and experience, and thus robs youth of its dreams, manhood of its rewards, and old age of its consolations. What wonder, then, that the author found life empty and closed, as he began, with the pessimistic refrain, "Vanity of vanities! all is vanity." And what wonder that the guardians of the moral and religious interests of the Jews, fearing either to suppress his book or to permit it to be circulated as it was written, interpolated it with their pious proverbs, thus giving it an appearance of registering the "greatest triumph of Old Testament piety" (Cornill) and making it a possible means of grace to their own and many subsequent generations.

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## The Cuneiform Name of the Second Adar

PAUL HAUPT

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

IN my ASKT,<sup>1</sup> which I published more than thirty years ago, I pointed out that the Sumerian name for *Adar*, the twelfth month of the Babylonian year, which is *iti-še-kin-kut*,<sup>2</sup> meant *grain-harvest month*, lit. *month of the work of cutting the grain*, which would be in Assyrian: *arax šipir nakāsi sa še'im*.<sup>3</sup> The *Adar* was the beginning of the grain-harvest in Babylonia, whereas the *Elul* is the time of the vintage.<sup>4</sup> In my paper on *Elul* and *Adar*<sup>5</sup> I have shown that *Elul* stands for علوٰل,<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the abbreviations see vol. 31 of this JOURNAL, p. 115, n. 2.

<sup>2</sup> For the final *t*, not *d*, see ZDMG 64, 705, n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> See ASKT 44, 12; 68, 5; 204, No. 22; cf. ZDMG 64, 705, 1. 16; contrast AW 190, n. 2 and F. K. Ginzel, *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie*, vol. ii (Leipzig, 1911) p. 499.

<sup>4</sup> See Haupt, *Micah* (Chicago, 1910) p. 88, n. \* (AJSL 26, 224).

<sup>5</sup> ZDMG 64, p. 704, 1. 17. Contrast PSBA 34, 294; 35, 127.

<sup>6</sup> Dr. Rudolf Růžička's idea (ZA 27, 320) that ئ and ؤ were developed exclusively in Arabic (*aus den Laryngalen ist erst im Sonderleben der arabischen Sprache گ and ڻ geworden*) is untenable; we have ئ and ؤ in Ethiopic, and ؤ appears in Assyrian as ئ, whereas ؤ appears as ئ. Lagarde's *unglückliche und übereilte Einfälle* are better than Dr. Růžička's most fortunate and elaborate lucubrations. The theory combated by Dr. Růžička was not invented by Lagarde; cf. Gesenius' *Thesaurus* (1835) p. 976. My view with regard to ئ and ؤ is shared by Brockelmann (VG 1, 125, 1, β; 127, r, γ and s; also 659) and all leading Semitic scholars. So far as I know, no one has adopted Dr. Růžička's theory (cf. also Gesenius-Buhl<sup>15</sup>, 549<sup>a</sup>, above). The

ingathering; the Heb. word **עָלָלֹת**, *gleaning* is derived from the same stem. Elul was the month of Tabernacles, and Adar the month of Unleavened Bread. These feasts were originally celebrated at the autumnal and vernal equinoxes.<sup>7</sup>

The correct form of *Adar* is *Addar* = *ḥaddar*, threshing-floor; *arax Addari* means literally *threshing-floor month*.<sup>8</sup> The original meaning of **חָדָר** (= **חָדָר**) is *circle*; the threshing-floor was a round open space, and the threshing was done by driving cattle around until a more or less complete detachment of the grain was effected (DB 1, 50). In the Recollections of Mrs. John A. Logan, the widow of General Logan, published in the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, New York, December 1912, it is stated that some sixty years ago, in the belt of country south of the Ohio and Mississippi Railroad, horses tramped out the grain on the smooth threshing yard.

*Addar* is followed by the intercalary month known as the *Second Adar*, Heb. **אָדָר שְׁנִי** (Aram. **אָדָר תְּנִינָא**) or **וְאָדָר**. So far as I know, the name *Veadar* has never been explained; but it is evidently an expression like **אָבָן וְאָבָן** in the phrase **אָבָן וְאָבָן**, *a stone and a stone*, i. e. *divers weights*. In Deut. 25:13 we read **לَا תַהֲיֵה לְךָ בְּכִסֵּךְ אָבָן וְאָבָן גְּדוֹלָה וְקַטָּנוֹת**, *thou shalt not have in thy bag divers weights, a great and a small*. Just as **וְאָבָן** means here *another weight*, so **וְאָדָר** denotes *another Adar*. Similarly we find in Ps. 12:3: **בַּלְבָד וְלֹבֶד יְבָרֹא**, *with a heart and a heart do they speak*, i. e. *with a double heart*.<sup>9</sup>

Nor has the Sumerian name of the Second Adar been explained. The First Adar is called in Sumerian: *iti-še-kin-kut*, grain-harvest month, and the name of the Second Adar is *iti-dir-še-kin-kut*. Now, what is the meaning of *dir* in this connection? Sumerian *dir* has a variety of meanings. It is rendered in Assyrian by *uššušu*, troubled, which corresponds to the Heb. **עַשְׁשָׁ**, Arab. **غَثٌ**, *to pain, give pain, trouble*.<sup>10</sup> It is explained

naïve way in which Dr. Růžička has used the LXX has been pointed out in ZAT 28, 220. Cf. also König in WZKM 27, part 1.

<sup>7</sup> ZDMG 64, p. 705, l. 21.

<sup>8</sup> ZDMG 64, p. 705, l. 31; p. 714, n. 2.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. G-K, § 123, f; Crit. Notes on *Proverbs* (SBOT) p. 65, l. 13.

<sup>10</sup> See my note in BA 5, 601.

also by *sâmu* = Aram. שָׁמָן, Arab. أَسْمَع (or أَسْمَم) black; *magrû*, unlucky; *atru* = *uâtru*, abundant; *elî*, upon, or in addition to; *malû*, full, &c., &c.<sup>11</sup> In the Sumerian name of the Second Adar *dir* evidently corresponds to the Assyrian *atru* = Aram. יְתִיר, abundant, excessive, extraordinary, so that the Sumer. *iti-dir-še-kin-kut* means the *extra grain-harvest month* or the *additional, supplementary, adscititious grain-harvest month*.

<sup>11</sup> See ASKT 16, 239-244; Meissner, *Seltene assyr. Ideogramme* (Leipzig, 1910) Nos. 2406-2446.

<sup>12</sup> See AL<sup>2</sup>, 70; cf. AL<sup>3</sup>, 93; contrast AL<sup>4</sup>, 115; AL<sup>5</sup>, 113.

<sup>13</sup> Delitzsch (HW 204<sup>a</sup>; cf. 392<sup>b</sup>) does not give *magrû*, *magrîtu* under *garû*; he seems to derive it from a stem מָגַר. In AW 25, l. 5 he referred for *magrû* to נָגַר, but AW 192, n. 11 he withdrew this etymology.

<sup>14</sup> In Assyrian we have *garāru* in this meaning; cf. n. 23 to my paper on *Selah* in *The Expository Times*, May, 1911.

<sup>15</sup> See ZDMG 65, 563, l. 14.

also the meaning of Assyr. *maxru* or, rather, *mixru*, which means originally *what confronts you, what you have to face, what you are up against*. Heb. מִקְרָה has the same meaning, and in Assyrian we have *ugarrî*, he attacked, in connection with *usîq* = يُضيق<sup>16</sup>, he hemmed in, and the noun *qûru* (for *quriu*) ill luck, adversity.<sup>17</sup>

*Mixru*, adversity, calamity, is found in l. 103 of the Flood Tablet, *illik Ninip mixra* (or *mixrê*) *ušardî*, which has never been correctly understood. Geo. Smith rendered in his *Assyrian Discoveries* (1876): *Ninip went in front, and cast down*. Jensen translated in his *Kosmologie* (1890): *ließ Sturm (Wucht) hinterdreinfolgen*;<sup>18</sup> in KB 6, 236 (cf. 496): *läßt einen Angriff (auf das Schiff) folgen*. Winckler, *Keilinschriftliches Textbuch* (1909) p. 84, l. 43: *ließ er (Adad) einen Wasserguß herunter strömen*; so, too, Jeremias, *Das AT im Lichte des Alten Orients* (1906) p. 230; Ungnad in Gressmann, *Altorientalische Texte und Bilder zum AT* (1909) 1, 53, and in Ungnad & Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesch-Epos* (1911) p. 56: *läßt den Widerstand (?) einherziehn*; Bezold in Lietzmann's *Kleine Texte für Vorlesungen und Übungen*, part 7 (1911) p. 20, l. 43: *läßt die Gegenströmung fließen*; but it means *he pours out calamity*, lit. *he causes adversity to flow*.<sup>19</sup> I have explained the line in this way for the past twenty years; in my translation of the Flood Tablet, which I prepared for Schrader's KAT<sup>3</sup>, and which was set up in 1895,<sup>20</sup> I rendered: *geht Unheil verbreitend with the note Eigentlich was zuwider ist, was einen trifft*.

Delitzsch (HW 404<sup>a</sup>) renders: *es kommt Ninib, ließ die Wehre sich ergießen*,<sup>21</sup> and (HW 403<sup>b</sup>) *arxu mixru ša Addari*

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Haupt, *Nahum* (Baltimore, 1907) p. 32, l. 6 (JBL 26, 32).

<sup>17</sup> Delitzsch (HW 352<sup>b</sup>) gives כְּרָה קְרִי as קְרִי.

<sup>18</sup> So, too, Zimmern in Gunkel's *Schöpfung und Chaos* (1895) p. 425; Rogers, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (New York, 1908) p. 202 translated: *Ninib advances, the storm he makes descend*.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Syr. عَزَلَ, to shed forth; Arab. اَسْقَطَ = اَرْدَى, also اَمْطَرَ اللَّهُ عَلَيْكُمْ.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. JAOS 32, 4, l. 4.

<sup>21</sup> Jeremias, *Izdubar-Nimrod* (1891) rendered: *überschwemmte die Ufer*. I translated, 32 years ago, in my translation (set up in 1881) in

is explained by him as *the counterpart of the Adar*, the corresponding Adar month. He repeats this explanation in the new (fifth) edition of his *Assyr. Lesestücke* (1912) p. 168, l. 11. But both *mixru* and *magrû* mean *adversity*: Assyr. *mixru* means originally *what you have to face*, and *magrû* signifies *what you run against*. Consequently the Second Adar was called in Assyrian *the adverse or unlucky month of Adar*.

In a solar year with 12 months of 30 days it is necessary to add at the end 5 intercalary days, the so-called *epagomenal days* (*αἱ ἐπαγόμεναι ἡμέραι*).<sup>22</sup> In Persia these five days are known as *Farvardîgân*, and are observed as All Souls' Days, just as in German Protestant churches the last Sunday of the ecclesiastical year is observed as All Souls' Day. Similarly the Fast of Esther, observed on the 13<sup>th</sup> of Adar, prior to the two days of feasting on the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of Adar, *i. e.* the ancient Babylonian and Persian New Year's festival, was originally an All Souls' Day.<sup>23</sup>

The variants of the Babylonian duplicate (S. P. ii) to the tablet with the names of the months (ASKT 64) were communicated to me by Pinches in 1880. I did not see the tablet; therefore I cannot vouch for the correctness of the reading *arxu ša Addari*, without anything between *arxu* and *ša*, in the fourth column of S. P. ii. This reading seems to me now very doubtful. Nor does Pinches' reading *mina-bi* in the first column of S. P. ii seem to be correct, although it is repeated by Delitzsch in the last three editions of his *Assyrische Lesestücke*. Sumer. *minâ-bi* means *doubled*, Assyr. *šunnû*. We find it in the names of a number of cuneiform signs which represent reduplications of certain characters. For instance, the single corner-wedge, which was originally a black disk<sup>24</sup> and which is KAT<sup>2</sup>, 62, 46 (cf. 504): *ließ unaufhörlich die Kanäle überströmen*; cf. Haupt, *Der keilinschriftliche Sintflutbericht* (Leipzig, 1881) p. 14.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. H. Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, second series, p. 182; KAT<sup>3</sup>, 329, 516, n. 2; I. Benzinger, *Hebr. Archäologie* (Tübingen, 1907) p. 167; p. 395, n. 1.

<sup>23</sup> See Haupt, *Purim*, p. 21, l. 11.

<sup>24</sup> See Geo. A. Barton, *Babylonian Writing* (Leipzig, 1913) 1, No. 365. This black disk represents originally a pit or hole, Assyr. *bâru* = Heb. **בָּרָה**. According to Barton (*op. cit.* part 2) this disk represents four

used as the sign for X, is called *gigurû*; the double corner-wedge, the sign for XX, has the name *gigurû-minâbi*, double *gigurû*, while the triple corner-wedge, the sign for XXX, is termed *gigurû-eššeku*, triple *gigurû*.<sup>25</sup>

Adar might be called a double month,<sup>26</sup> but the Second Adar is not a double month. It seems that Pinches' reading II-BI is a mistake for II-u. Strassmaier read II-u.<sup>27</sup> This would be *arxu šânû ša Addari* or *arkû ša Addari*.<sup>28</sup> The name *arxu ša Addari*, as given by Pinches, is probably as incorrect as the commonly accepted reading *arxu MINA-BI ša Addari*. According to Strassmaier, it would seem that the correct reading of this variant was not *arxu ša Addari*, but *arkât ša Addari*, which would mean *After-Adar* (German *Nachadar*). Schrader (KAT<sup>1</sup>, 248) regarded *makru* as a transposition of *marku*, from *arâku* = *uvarâku*, to be behind, whereas Norris combined *makru* with Heb. מָקָרָה (cf. KAT<sup>2</sup>, 381, n. \*). Both explanations are untenable, but there is a grain of truth in them.

Accordingly we have five cuneiform names for the Second Adar: (1) the Sumerian *iti-še-kin-kut*, the extra grain-harvest month;—(2) Assyr. *arxu šânû* (or *arkû*) *ša Addari*, the second month of Adar;—(3) *arxu mixru ša Addari*, the adverse month

originally separate signs, *viz.* (1) the disk of the sun—(2) the crescent moon—(3) the mouth of a well—(4) a complete circuit of what could be counted on the fingers (X).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. the *Schrifttafel* of AL<sup>5</sup>, Nos. 94, 122, 136, 149, 181, 277.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. שְׁנִי אֶדְרִים, *Rôsh ha-shanâh*, 19<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>27</sup> See his *Alphabetisches Verzeichnis* (Leipzig, 1886) No. 4999. In AW 191, n. 6 Delitzsch stated that Strassmaier's readings were evidently wrong.

<sup>28</sup> For *arkû* (HW 242<sup>b</sup>) see e. g. Strassmaier, *Cyrus*, Nos. 148, 149, 151, 219, 242, 364; cf. BA 3, 410, l. 18; 435, l. 8; 436, l. 8. The First Adar (Heb. אָדָר רָאשָׁן, Aram. אָדָר קָרְמָתָן) is called simply *Addaru* or *Addaru maxrû*; see AW 190, l. 11; Strassmaier, *Camb.* p. 1, l. 8; BA 3, 416, l. 25. The common ideogram for *arkû* is *egir-u*; cf. e. g. v R 37, 58; Peiser, *Babyl. Verträge* (Berlin, 1890) p. 200, No. cxxxviii, l. 17; Strassmaier, *Nab.* No. 688. The common ideogram for *šânû* would be *II-KAN*; cf. Peiser, *op. cit.* p. 34, l. 21; Strassmaier, *Nab.* 436, 438, 439; *Cyr.* 54-60; *Camb.* 177-183, 226, 422. We can hardly suppose that the character which Pinches read *bi*, and Strassmaier *u*, is really *kan* (AL<sup>5</sup>, 15, No. 107). Cf. also Meissner, *Altbabyl. Privatrecht* (Leipzig, 1893) p. 109.

of Adar;—(4) *arxu magrû ša Addari*, the unlucky month of Adar;—(5) *arkât ša Addari*, the After-Adar.

Assyr. *mixru* in the third name is not a substantive, but an intransitive adjective *maxiru*, just as we have in Arabic, *nimr*, panther, for *namir*; or *ni'ma* and *bi'sa* for *na'ima*, *ba'isa*; and Assyr. *çixru*, small, for *çaxiru*.<sup>29</sup>

The unlucky intercalary month of the Second Adar was the thirteenth month, corresponding to the thirteenth sign of the zodiac, the raven;<sup>30</sup> therefore the number thirteen is unlucky.

<sup>29</sup> See WdG 1, 97; Delitzsch, AG<sup>2</sup>, p. 171; Barth, *Nomina* (Leipzig, 1869) p. 115.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Benzinger, *Hebr. Arch.* p. 167; A. Jeremias, *Das AT im Lichte des Alten Orients* (Leipzig, 1906) p. 11, n. 2; p. 61, 13.

## The Babylonian Name of Palestine

FREDERICK A. VANDERBURGH

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY.

IN the Babylonian bilingual lists of countries there occur four equations,<sup>1</sup> the second member of which, in each case, reads, *mat A-mur-ri-e*, a phrase variously rendered as "western land," "land of the Amorites," "land of the Canaanites," "Syria," "Phoenicia," and "Palestine."

The first equation reads as follows:

*kur mar-tu-ki* = *mat a-mur-ri-e*.

Here *mar-tu* contains the idea of "sunset," while *tu* is a common ideogram for *erēbu* "enter,"<sup>2</sup> which, either with or without *šamši*,<sup>3</sup> means "the setting sun." The element *mar* usually equals *šakānu* "make."<sup>4</sup> It seems, however, in this connection, to have an abstract force, like *ša* (= *gar*).<sup>5</sup> *Mar-tu* therefore = "setting" and is a natural term for "western land." *Kur mar-tu* then means "land of the setting sun," an expression which is much used in the writings of the Babylonians and Assyrians to designate "the western land" which they called in their Semitic speech *mat Amurrē*.

The second equation reads:

*kur ti-id-nu-um-ki* = *mat a-mur-ri-e*.

The Sumerian side of this equation is certainly not ideo-graphic, but purely syllabic. *Tidmu* (= Gudea Statue B vi 13:<sup>6</sup> *ti-da-num* "Palestine") is an Egyptian name, for we know that the Egyptians called the highlands of Syria *Tinu*,<sup>7</sup> which became

<sup>1</sup> II R 50 iii/iv 57-59 and II R 48 12.

<sup>2</sup> Br. 1072.

<sup>3</sup> II R 39 15 e.

<sup>4</sup> Br. 5820.

<sup>5</sup> Prince, *Materials*, s. v. *gar*, and p. XVII.

<sup>6</sup> *Découv. en Chaldée*, Vol. 2 p. x.

<sup>7</sup> W. Max Müller, *Asien u. Europa*, 145.

in Semitic speech *Tidnu*,<sup>8</sup> i. e., *tinu* equals *tinnu* and then *tidnu*.<sup>9</sup> Hence its appearance in our equation.

The third equation reads:

*kur gir-gir = mat a-mur-ri-e.*

According to S<sup>b</sup>73,<sup>10</sup> the combination *gir-gir* has the value *tidnu*, the same as in the second equation. We know that *gir* is an ideogram for the human foot, which was considered a symbol of power. Note that *gir-gir = gašāru* "be strong."<sup>11</sup> Why the Babylonians took this double sign as a representation of the land of the west called *Tidnu* can only be conjectured. There must have been something about the land represented that suggested the use of this double symbol, which occurs, however, so far as I know, only in syllabaries and lists of countries. It might possibly refer to the mountainous character of Palestine; i. e., a mountainous land = a strong land = *gir-gir*.

The fourth equation reads:

*(ti-id-nu) gir-gir = a-mur-ru-u.*

This is really an explanation of the chief factors of the preceding equation, namely, that *gir-gir*, called *tidnu*, equals *amurrû*. It is only incidental that the second *gir* is written with the upper and lower wedges coming to an angle. According to Brünnow,<sup>12</sup> the two ends of the second *gir* are reversed, so that the two *girs* stand, not as one foot following another, but as two feet, the toes of the one facing the toes of the other. The second *gir*, in my opinion, is simply by accident defectively written.

We come now to the second member of the four equations, viz., *mat a-mur-ri-e*. The second syllable of the word, happening to have the value *har* as well as *mur*, *amurrê* was at first read *aharrê*, as if related to the Hebrew אַחֲרֶ. Readings from the Old Testament like הַיּם הַאֲחַרְןָ "the western sea," seemed to justify this first conclusion.<sup>13</sup> The form *aharrê*, however, has been proved to be incorrect, as the following collocation will show. A study of the El-Amarna tablets, where the word is found written in three ways, *a-mu-ri*, *a-mu-ur-ra*, and *a-mur-ri*,

<sup>8</sup> ZA, 10 54.

<sup>9</sup> Erman, *Egypt. Gr.*, 19.

<sup>10</sup> AL<sup>b</sup> 54.

<sup>11</sup> HWB 206.

<sup>12</sup> Br. 9220 and 9221.

<sup>13</sup> Deut. 11 24 and 34 2.

forces us to the decision that the pronunciation was always *amurrê*. An instance of the spelling *a-mu-ri* occurs in tablet 21 of the El-Amarna tablets of the British Museum, while *a-mu-ur-ri* may be found in Old Babylonian contracts,<sup>14</sup> as well as in the El-Amarna tablets. Hommel considered the word identical with the Old Testament מָרֵרִי,<sup>15</sup> and even derived *mar-tu* from the unused fem. מָרֵרָה, a doubtful theory. The Aramaic form of the word, an example of which Professor Prince gives from the business dockets of Darius II.,<sup>16</sup> is also seen in a passage from the Talmud,<sup>17</sup> where the transcription of the Babylonian word appears as עֲוָרְרִיָּה, which must be pronounced *awurriya*. In New Babylonian *m = w*, which is another proof that the word is *amurrê*, (*m = i*).

*Amurrê* is no doubt the same as the *amor* of the Egyptians, whose use of the word throws some light on the antiquity of the people and the location of their territory. Egyptian records tell us that a Pharaoh of the nineteenth dynasty "plundered the land of *Kadeš* and the land of *A-ma-r*," and also mention the "river of the land of *A-ma(u-ra)*," namely the Orontes. They speak also of the "precious timber" of the "*A-mau-ira*" which was cut, evidently referring to the cedars of Lebanon.<sup>18</sup> The *Amor* of the Egyptians is no doubt, the same as the *Amurrê* of the Babylonians and apparently reached to Kadesh, situated on the banks of the Orontes, mentioned in the account of the deeds of Rameses II. See the portrait on the walls of the Ramessêum at Thebes.

The Scriptures give quite a clear presentation of the location of the Amorites, whom the Hebrews dispossessed. While there may be a doubt as to whether the word כָּנָעַן is from כָּנָעַ "bow down" (hence "low") and Amorite from אָמָר "high," yet these ideas "low" and "high" seem to appear in the early uses of the two words: "the Canaanite dwelt by the sea and the Amorite in the hill country."<sup>19</sup> In the period of the Exodus,

<sup>14</sup> Meissner, *Beit. z. altbab. Privatrecht*, 42.

<sup>15</sup> *PSBA*, XVIII 18. <sup>16</sup> Prince, *Materials*, 233.

<sup>17</sup> Delitzsch, *Assyrische Studien*, 139.

<sup>18</sup> *Asien u. Europa*, 217, 218 and 228.

<sup>19</sup> Num. 13 29.

Moses contended with the two kings of the Amorites on the east of the Jordan, and Joshua with the twelve Amorite kings on the west. In later times, we find the land of the Amorites referred to by both the Elohistic and the Yahwistic writers as the country to be occupied by the Hebrews, namely, the whole of Palestine, both on the east and the west of the Jordan. This goes a long way towards explaining the generic use of *Amurrê* in Assyro-Babylonian to denote the whole of the westland.

We find *Amurrê*, or its equivalent *Martu*, mentioned very early in the Babylonian inscriptions, and often by the Assyrians. Sargon, king of Akkad, is believed to have gone at least as far as the Lebanon. The Omen tablets relate that Sargon went into *Martu* and smote the land and became the conqueror of the four regions.<sup>20</sup> Besides numerous sentences in the Omens descriptive of this king's journeys in the west, Thureau-Dangin gives a little tablet according to which "Sargon subdued the Amorite (*mar-tu-am*)."<sup>21</sup> Gudea, patesi of Lagash, also visited the land of the Amorites: "from Kasalla,<sup>22</sup> a land of the Amorites (*mar-tu*) great blocks of stone he brought out, and made a statue which he erected in the court of E-nana. From Tidunu, a land of the Amorites, marble in pieces he brought."<sup>23</sup> Nebuchadnezzar I., in mentioning his conquests, says that "he conquered the land of the *Amurrê*."<sup>24</sup> When we come to the Assyrian kings, particularly Sargon II.<sup>25</sup> and Ašur-

<sup>20</sup> XXX ume Šarru-ukin ša a-na mat *Mar-tu-ki illi-ku-ma mat Mar-tu-i-ni-ru kibrat irbiti kat-su ikšu-ul*; IV R 34 obv. 5 and 6.

<sup>21</sup> šanat Šar-ga-ni-šar-alim *Amurra(mar-tu)-am in ba-sa-ar ikšud*. *Réc. de tablettes chald.*, 85 and 124 (pl. 57) rev. col. i.

<sup>22</sup> *Kasalla*, elsewhere *Ka-šal(NI)-la* IV R 34 obv. 31, and *Ka-šal(NI)-lu-ki* IV R Obv. 22, is evidently a country and is probably a narrower term than *Mar-tu*.

<sup>23</sup> *Ka-sal-la ḥar-sag Mar-tu-ta dag-na gal im-ta-ē na-rū-a-ṣū mu-dim kaskal ē-nana-ka mu-na-ni-du. Ti-da-num ḥar-sag Mar-tu-ta šir-gal lagab-bi-a mi-ni-tum*. *Découv. en Chaldée*, Vol. 2 p. x.

<sup>24</sup> Ša dan-na mat *Lul-lu-bi-i u-šam-ki-tu i-na kakkē ka-šid mat A-mur-ri-e ša-li-lu ka-ši-i*; Nebuchadnezzar, Inscript. V R 55 9-10.

<sup>25</sup> *iš-tu mat Ra-a-ši mi-šir mat E-lam-ti amel Pu-ku-du amel Da-mu-nu Dûr-ku-ri-gal-zi ra-pi-ku mad-bar kali-šu a-di na-hal mat Mu-us-ri mat A-mur-ri-e rapa-š-tum mat Hat-ti a-na si-ḥir-ti-ša i-be-lu*; Sargon, Cylinder.

banipal,<sup>26</sup> we find numerous references to the *Amurrê*. The Old-Babylonian kings and the writers of the El-Amarna letters had applied the term to the territory that the Egyptians called *Amor*, that is, to Northern Palestine, which begins at the banks of the Orontes as one approaches from the east. The Assyrians, however, because they found the northern limit had been crowded to the south by the pressure of the Hittites, with whom they had almost always to deal in their western incursions, made the term cover Southern Palestine which, of course, included Israel and Judah. It seems probable then that the Amorites were of sufficient importance to impress their nationality upon the Assyro-Babylonian writers who therefore used the tribal name *Amurrê* as a designation of the whole of Palestine.

I R 36 12-13. *Iš-tu mat Ia-at-na-na ša kabal tam-tin ša-lam šam-ši a-di pa-at mat Mu-šu-ri u mat Mu-us-ki mat Amurrê rapaš-tum mat Išat-ti a-na si-žir-ti-ša nap-ly-a-ar Gu-ti-um mat Ma-da-ai ru-ku-u-ti*; Sargon, General Inscript., lines 16-17. *Journ. Asiat.* 1863.

<sup>26</sup> *U šu-u m Am-mu-la-di šar mat Ki-id-ri it-ba-am-ma a-na mit-lyu-uṣ-ṣi šarrāni mat Amurrê ša il Ašur il Ištar u ilāni rabāti u-ṣad-gi-lu pa-nu-u-a*; Ašurbanipal, Rassam Prism, V R 8 15-18.

## Ichabod

J. DYNELEY PRINCE  
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

THE expression **אִיכְבוֹד** occurs twice in the OT.; viz., in 1 S. 4 21 and 14 3, in each case of the son of Phinehas. The explanation is given in 1 S. 4 22 that the name was used, because 'the glory had departed from Israel.' Some scholars, therefore, regard **אִיכְבוֹד** as privative = 'without glory'; *i. e.*, as an abbreviation of **אֵין** (thus Jensen, *Ztschr. für Völkerpsychologie*, xviii., p. 421), but **אִיכְבוֹד** can be equally well construed as 'woe, alas' (**אִיכְבוֹד** 'woe for the glory'), as in Eccles. 10 16 **אִילָךְ**; 4 10 **אִילָוּ**.

The similar **אִיזְבָּל** was probably also an exclamation. The element **זְבָל** here is unclear, nor does Prätorius (*ZDMG*, lxxv., pp. 794-795) give any satisfactory explanation of it. In Assyrian *zabâlu* means 'bring, carry,' and has as a synonym *našû* 'lift up.' The stem *zabâlu* seems to be connected with the idea 'tribute' (*i. e.*, 'a bringing'), as we find *zabil dupšikki*, *zabil kudurri* 'tribute-bringer, tax-payer.' Note also the expression *ina zabal ramânišu*, probably 'as his own tribute,' and also ZA-BA-LAM = *mîširtu* 'taxes,' iv, 20, No. 1, 21. The element **זְבָל** appears also in the Phœnician names: **זְבָלוֹן** and, of course, in **שְׁמְזָבָל**, **בָּעֵל-זָבָל**, all which may contain the same idea of 'bringing, giving' and hence 'value, treasure.' The name **אִיזְבָּל**, therefore, may mean 'woe, alas for treasure,'<sup>1</sup> and hence be similar in construction to **אִיכְבוֹד**.

The rendering 'woe the glory' for **אִיכְבוֹד** is apparently confirmed by the use in the Sumerian hymns of the woe-term *a-lig*, which appears in most passages as an apparent parallel to

<sup>1</sup> It is possible that **זְבָל** may indicate a god-name: the treasure, precious one(?)

**אֵיכְבּוֹד.** *A-lig* is seen, especially in Tammuz hymns, in the following constructions:

CT. xv, 20, 4: *a-lig lig Da-mu-(mu)*

woe the mighty one, mighty one, my Tammuz

5. *a-lig dumu u-mu-un Mu-zi-(da)*

woe the mighty one, lord Muzida

6. *a-lig dimmer silim<sup>2</sup> (KA-DI) i-de za . . . .*

woe the mighty one, god of splendor, eye of . . . .

7. *a-lig dimmer lamga u-mu-un s(a-par)*

woe the mighty one, god, artificer, lord (of the net)

8. *a-lig li-bi-ir<sup>3</sup> u-mu-un ( . . . . )*

woe the mighty one, overseer, lord of . . . .

9. *a-lig mu-lu sir<sup>4</sup> (BU) an-na-(mu)*

woe the mighty one, my heavenly light.

The same use of *a-lig* occurs in IV. 27 No. 4, 3: *Mu-ul-lil-la-ra a-lig* 'for Bêl, woe the mighty one.'

The entire question hinges on the exact meaning in this connection of *a-lig*, which appears in the word-lists with the following equivalents, easily classifiable into three distinct meaning-groups:

A. *a-lig* = *xi-i-lu*, Meissner, 883: 'power.' Here *a* is plainly abstract in force (cf. Prince, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon*, p. xvii, for full discussion) and *lig* 'power,' a common meaning; cf. Br. 6193f: = *danâmu*, *dannu*, *emêqu*, *idlu*, *izzu*.

B. *a-lig* = *i-nu*, Br. 11537 (cf. Meissner, 8880: *i-nu?* *ša mē* 'spring of water').

*a-lig* (Sum. val. *e-la*) = *mi-lum*, Br. 11538: 'flood.'

*a-lig* = *namba'u*, Meissner, 8886: 'water-spring.'

*a-lig* = *ši-il-lu*, Meissner, 8888: 'pudendum feminæ' (cf. Prince, *Amer. Journ. Philol.* xv., p. 112) from the idea 'water-spring, well,' as in Heb. בָּאֵר. Note Haupt's interpretation of Eccles. 12:1: זְכַר אֶת בָּרָאֵיךְ.

*a-lig* = *ta-ti-ik-tum* from *natâku* 'pour out,' connected also with the water-idea.

<sup>2</sup> KA-DI with pronunciation *si-lim* = *tašrixtu* 'splendor,' Br. 746.

<sup>3</sup> *Li-bi-ir* = *nâgiru* 'overseer,' Br. 1133.

<sup>4</sup> *sir* (BU) = *nûru* 'light,' Br. 7530; *napâxu* 'shine,' Br. 7527.

In all the above equations, *a* = 'water' + *lig* 'strong'; in connection with water probably 'copious.'

It is evident that neither of the above groups assist in the interpretation of the *a-lig* of the Tammuz hymns. Here it should be noted, however, that *u'a* 'oh, woe' is a common meaning for *a*; cf. Meissner, 8694, quoting extensively from the Reisner texts, so that *a-lig* in the context of the Tammuz hymns, where it is clearly an exclamation of distress, can only mean 'oh, woe' = *u'a* + 'power' or 'powerful' = *lig*. Such an expression at once suggests אִיכְבּוֹד 'O the glory' which seems to be a parallel exclamation applied as a proper name. It should be observed that Heb. כְּבּוֹד is adjectival 'powerful,' Ezek. 23 41, as well as substantival *passim*. The rendering of *a-lig* by 'O the powerful one'; 'woe the glory' or 'glorious one' in the Tammuz passages cited above is peculiarly appropriate to the situation, as the singer is lamenting the death of the life-giving sun during the winter months. We may classify then as Group C:

*a-lig* = *u'a* + *dannu* 'O the mighty one,' *CT.* xv. 20, 4 ff; 24-25 (see below).

*a-lig* = *il-lum*, Br. 11539: 'weak' from *alâlu*; cf. *ullu*, Meissner, 8881 = *il-lu*.

*a-lig* = *ni-i-lu* 'rest,' from *na'âlu*, Meissner, 8864.

*a-lig* = *šexru*, V. 22, 36 from שָׁחַר 'be in difficulties'; cf. also *šaxrartu* 'need.'

The meanings 'weak, rest, be in straits' are to be regarded as secondary developments of *a-lig* = *u'a* + *dannu*, a common phenomenon in Sumerian (cf. Prince, *Materials*, pp. viii-ix).

The only passage which might appear to militate against the comparison of *a-lig* with אִיכְבּוֹד is *CT.* xv, 20,

24. *ne-šù šeš-zu mulu er-ri ba-an-tu-tu*

unto this thy brother, the man of weeping, wilt thou enter?

25. *ne-šù Dumu-zi mulu a-lig ba-an-tu-tu*

To this one Tammuz, the man of *a-lig*, wilt thou enter?

In this couplet, *a-lig* is plainly a substantival parallel to *er(A-ŠI)-ri* in the preceding line. Langdon (*Psalms*, p. 30, note 4) even explained this *a-lig* as *a-ri(b)*, a supposed philo-

logical equivalent of *er-ri*. On p. 272, *op. cit.*, however, he rightly saw the improbability of this comparison. The reading *lig*<sup>5</sup> = 'power, powerful' for KAL seems assured by the frequent -*ga*-suffix following the KAL-sign (cf. especially Prince, *Materials*, 223-224).

*A-lig*, as shown above, is usually an exclamation, but it is used in *CT*. xv. 20, 25 as a substantive. Similar uses of exclamations as nouns, however, are not uncommon in the cuneiform literature, as, for example, *HT*. 122, 13: *bēltum ina zurub libbi simme*; *zurbis addili ki axulapia*, 'O lady, hearken to the trouble of my heart; bitterly I present to thee my "how long";' *HT*. 115, rev. 12: *ina u'a u a šunuxat (kabitti)* 'with Ah and Oh my soul is sighing.'

The use of the exclamation *a-lig*, therefore, as a noun, in no way prevents our comparing its composition and usual construction with the Heb. **אַיְכָבָד**, of which it appears to be a satisfactory prototype.

<sup>5</sup> Zimmern, *Tammuzhymnen*, p. 230, reads A-DAN; cf. also Vandeburgh, *AJSL*, xxvii., pp. 86-87.

## The Hyksos at Heliopolis

M. G. KYLE

XENIA THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.

THE actual beginning of the work of excavation at Heliopolis by Professor William Flinders Petrie, February 26, 1912, was an event in Egyptian exploration whose full significance can hardly yet be appreciated, while the outcome may be disappointing. Archaeologists are constantly reminded by their experience that it is the unexpected that happens, and they have occasion to cultivate the stoicism of the Spanish proverb, "Blessed are they that expect nothing, for they shall not be disappointed."

Not much is definitely known concerning the ancient city of On, Egyptian Annu, but the glorious reputation of that ancient capital and religious center spreads its glamour over the early history of dynastic Egypt and also glows like an aurora on the horizon of patriarchal history. The general statement of the inauguration of the work of exploration at Heliopolis is being published by Professor Petrie in the annual volume of the British School in Egypt. It is not intended to give in this paper a full account of that work, mainly this first season a work of survey and of trial trenches, but to give, out of the closest observation of the excavations while in progress day by day, some account and some discussion of what appear to be remains of the Shepherd Kings, the Hyksos, at Heliopolis.

We are informed by Manetho as quoted by Josephus (Against Ap. i, 14) that the Hyksos under their first king Salatis made the city of Avaris "very strong by the walls he built about it," and that they "built a wall around all this place, which was a large and strong wall." Until within a few years it was not possible to do more than speculate concerning the character

of that stronghold with its fortifications large enough for a great army, the imagination, meanwhile, being all the time haunted by the familiar idea of a fortified camp furnished us by the Romans, manifestly a worthless idea for this case. In the year 1906 came the uncovering of the ruins at Tell el-Yehudiyyeh by Professor Petrie. Among its surprises was a wall of mud brick enclosing a large area. The wall was about 40 meters wide, but with sloping instead of perpendicular sides. The enclosure was in the form of a truncated oval or parallelogram with rounded corners, and measured about 350 meters in its shortest diameter. There was no gateway, but, instead, a sloping causeway led over the wall. The stratum of debris to which this wall belonged yielded a large number of scarabs of the Hyksos period and very few of any other time. The character of the wall prepared for defense by "bow people," such as the Hyksos probably were, the suitability of this wall for a fortified camp or great stronghold, the probable location of Avaris, and the more positive evidence of the Hyksos scarabs of this stratum of debris, led Professor Petrie to regard the fortress as an early stronghold of the Hyksos, either the one at Avaris or another similar one of about the same period. Now this Tell el-Yehudiyyeh lies about four miles north of the site of Heliopolis. Its ancient Egyptian name was *Hres* and it was closely related to the religious institutions at the great capital. The history of the conquest of the delta by the Hyksos is not known, nor is it sure that they ever gained possession of the capital at Heliopolis, but considering their long reign and their practical suzerainty over lower Egypt the occupation of the capital is most probable, indeed, practically certain. If Joseph was prime minister under one of the Hyksos kings, as asserted by Syncellus, it seems certain that the Hyksos then had control of the capital. Joseph was given as a wife the daughter of the Priest of On, which implies that the religious establishment at On was in good measure subservient to the king.

In view of all these facts, the conditions found at Heliopolis during the past season of work are most interesting and suggestive. Schiaparelli who conducted a limited work of excavation

at Heliopolis a few years ago, the full report of which was never published, announced that he had discovered near the obelisk a great wall about 40 meters wide and pierced by mysterious tunnels. Professor Petrie, after considerable preliminary survey work, set the workmen to cut a transverse section through this wall reported by Schiaparelli. The wall was immediately found and proved to be 40 meters wide at this point. The "tunnels" upon thorough investigation were found to be streaks of sand in a central core of the wall which had been thrown up by the builders to lessen the brick work. About this core the brick-work was erected. The core consisted for the most part of mud, but here and there sand had been dumped in. In a cutting of the wall these deposits of sand had the appearance of tunnels which had been filled up with sand. The completion of the transverse section made their real character at once apparent. The wall was shown to have sloping sides with a perpendicular height of about three meters. Another section of the wall was made on the axis of the temple area to find the place where the gateway of Egyptian temples was uniformly placed, but the wall was found to be continuous. A public road passing at this point prevented an examination in front of the wall for an inclined approach that may have passed over the wall. The course of the wall to the right and the left was easily traced upon the surface and was in the form of a truncated oval or parallelogram with rounded corners, having a width in its shortest diameter of 350 meters. It is not yet possible to determine the long diameter. Not many antiquities of any kind have yet appeared, but even in the small extent to which excavations have been carried this year some Hyksos pottery has been found in connection with the wall.

Thus we have at Heliopolis a remarkable repetition of the conditions found at Tell el-Yehudiyyeh: a wall with sloping sides for defense with the bow in both places, an inclined causeway over the wall at Tell el-Yehudiyyeh instead of a gateway and the absence of any gateway at Heliopolis at the point where the gateway is to be expected at the entrance of the temple area. The dimensions and shape of the wall agree

also, it being 40 meters wide and in the form of a truncated oval whose short diameter is 350 meters. Add to this the Hyksos remains in the similar strata. The concurrence of all these evidences raises a strong presumption that we have here at Heliopolis the same kind of fortification as at Tell el-Yehudiyeh, erected for the same purpose and by the same people. And this doubling of the evidence at these two places is a decided step forward in the positive identification of the builders of these strange foreign defences in Egypt with the great Hyksos invaders. It would be natural, surely, that foreign invaders having entered the land and made a fortified camp at Hres should repeat this method of defense at some other points at least, before they finally, if ever, gave up their character as bow-people, and adopted the Egyptian method of defense. If Tell el-Yehudiyeh be Avaris or a similar fortification, what is more to be expected than that when the Hyksos became masters of the capital four miles away they would fortify the seat of government there, including the stone temples, in the same manner as they had fortified at Avaris? Moreover the negative argument is of value here. Who else than the Hyksos were ever of sufficient importance and power in ancient Egypt to erect such foreign defenses and especially at the great capital of Heliopolis? Altogether it seems most likely that a new chapter has been added to the history of the patriarchal times and that further excavations will admit us to the place of the seat of the Hyksos government in the days of Joseph.

## Studies in the Diction of the Psalter

### Second Article

WALDO S. PRATT

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

SUCH statistical inductions as are attempted in these Studies have validity and value only when derived from considerable masses of data. When drawn from too small an area, they may be inconclusive or misleading; but if the number of items regarded is somewhat large, the method may be expected to yield something substantial. It is clear, however, that the results also depend upon how the materials for analysis are selected, since a casual heap of unrelated data may be examined without any useful result whatever.

In the analysis reported in our first article the data were secured by using the "rare-word test," which, it was assumed, in a collection like the Psalter should help us to separate the relatively peculiar or individual poems or passages on the one hand from those that are relatively conventional or commonplace on the other. It was assumed that among these latter passages are to be found that which is most characteristic of the completed collection—whatever served as the "connective tissue" to include and envelope the diverse or peculiar elements that were gathered together. Whether the type of material in this "connective tissue" is relatively early or late, and whether it belongs to the whole process of psalm-production or represents a final phase in it (or some other limited phase), were not questions to be pressed at the outset. In the primary reasoning it was simply essential to bring together that which probably had some internal connection. In this instance the effort was made to detect mechanically materials that must have such

connection because of their intrinsic character, regardless of whether or not there were any external marks to identify them.

In the analysis now to be attempted the materials are secured by a different process. We propose here to examine the poems the titles of which refer to "David." Here is a group that has an ostensible literary unity. Whether this is a real unity, and what kind of a unity it is, are not primary questions. In the older commentary the titles were held to indicate actual authorship. In most recent commentary these titles are supposed to refer to antecedent books, bearing some name like "The Prayers of David" (see 72:20). But opinions differ widely as to whether all the poems with these titles belong to a single real group, even an editorial one. Hence one of the objects of analysis is to determine whether the ostensible group is fairly homogeneous or not, while also trying to distinguish the characteristics of its main nucleus. Furthermore, since the present distribution of these "David" titles may not be as wide as it was originally, another object is to identify poems, now without such titles, that probably belong with the "David" series. Inasmuch as the "David" poems, as they stand, make up about one-half of the whole Psalter, any fresh study of the facts has obvious importance.

In the present study we assume at the outset that the "David" series includes seventy-five poems, including, that is, all that bear the "David" title in the received Hebrew text, *plus* 10 and 33, which are imbedded in the otherwise continuous series of Bk. I. These poems fall into three subgroups, namely, D<sup>1</sup>, 3-41; D<sup>2</sup>, 51-65, 68-70; D<sup>3</sup>, 86, 101, 103, 108-110, 122, 124, 131, 133, 138-145.

In the LXX "David" titles appear also with 33, 43, 67, 71, 93-99, 104, 137. How this fact is valued depends much upon general assumptions about the history of the Psalter. For example, Briggs in 1906 called all these Greek titles "conjectures of later editors," though, of course, in 1872 he regarded them differently.

The text-length of the D subgroups, as compared with the total text of the Psalter, is as follows: D<sup>1</sup>, 25%; D<sup>2</sup>, 12%; D<sup>3</sup>, 10%—a total of 47%.

Following, now, the plan used in our first article, we proceed

to isolate statistically the vocabulary specially characteristic of the "David" poems. In this case the process is puzzling, since we cannot be sure that the three subgroups are upon an equal footing. If they are of equal significance, the subgroups may be disregarded and the whole body of poems handled as a unit. But if not, differences between the subgroups must be considered. In the process here used it is assumed that D<sup>1</sup> is the most characteristic subgroup (as it is much the longest), and that D<sup>2</sup> stands next in importance.

As before, the test-list is made up by noting those "common" words that seem to "prefer" D poems, that is, that show in those poems a larger proportion of all their occurrences (in the Psalter) than the size of the D group or subgroups would warrant (the normal percentages being D<sup>1</sup>, 25%; D<sup>2</sup>, 12%; D<sup>3</sup>, 10% = D entire, 47%).

The following test-list is drawn, like that used in the first article, from the 235 "common" words (those that occur in more than twelve poems). It includes primarily those words that are decidedly above normal in D<sup>1</sup> (that is, the percentage of whose occurrences there, as compared with their total occurrences in the Psalter, is much above 25). To these are added other words that are much above normal in D<sup>2</sup> or D<sup>3</sup>, or both. In each case the percentages of the word's occurrences are given, both in the three subgroups and in the entire D group:

Test-List Derived from "David" Poems.

	D <sup>1</sup>	D <sup>2</sup>	D <sup>3</sup>		D <sup>1</sup>	D <sup>2</sup>	D <sup>3</sup>		D <sup>1</sup>	D <sup>2</sup>	D <sup>3</sup>			
אבָר	38	4	8	50	נִיל	47	11	0	58	יְשֻׁעָה	36	13	13	62
אֲדֹנִי	21	26	21	68	דָּבָר	29	13	16	58	יְשֻׁעָה	45	20	0	65
אָנוּ	35	24	10	69	דָּם	24	24	5	53	יְשֻׁרָּה	44	4	4	52
אָנוּ	20	13	27	60	דָּרְשָׁה	46	8	8	62	כְּבָרָה	37	10	12	59
אִיבָּר	38	17	10	65	הַם	36	18	4	58	כָּנָן	25	20	10	55
אָן	46	12	15	73	חָנָן	39	15	12	66	לְבָבָה	42	13	7	62
אִישָׁ	37	10	16	63	חָסָה	56	16	8	80	לְשָׁוֹן	34	23	11	68
אָלָל	38	16	11	65	חַפְּז.	35	24	6	65	מְנָנָה	42	5	5	52
אֲנוֹשָׁה	26	21	16	63	חַרְבָּה	28	22	6	56	מְוֹטָה	33	21	4	58
אֲתָת	prp. 33	0	21	59	חַשְׁבָּה	44	6	17	67	מְוֹתָה	36	18	0	54
בְּשָׁה	44	9	6	59	טוֹב	29	13	15	57	מֵי	45	14	5	64
בְּطַח	43	17	4	64	יְהֹוָה	39	2	11	52	מְעַן	31	13	16	60
בְּלָ	56	3	9	68	יְמִידָה	37	11	11	59	טְרַמָּה	57	21	7	85
בְּקַשְׁ	48	19	7	74	יְרָא	adj. 33	7	15	55	גְּנַךְ	47	11	14	72
בְּשָׁרֶ	25	19	13	57	יְרַדָּה	25	17	21	63	גְּפַלָּה	41	10	10	61
גְּדֹלָה	44	19	13	76	יְשָׁבָה	28	15	13	56	גְּפַשָּׁה	29	13	17	59

	D <sup>1</sup>	D <sup>2</sup>	D <sup>3</sup>		D <sup>1</sup>	D <sup>2</sup>	D <sup>3</sup>		D <sup>1</sup>	D <sup>2</sup>	D <sup>3</sup>				
נִצְלָה	39	18	14	71	פְּעָל	39	19	12	70	שְׁנָא	34	10	12	56	
נִשְׁאָה	35	6	8	49	צְדִיקָה	48	13	8	69	שְׁפָה	39	18	11	68	
סְכִינָה	36	14	5	55	צָרָה	42	4	17	63	שְׁאָול	38	6	19	63	
סְתִּירָה	50	18	5	73	קּוֹם	41	6	10	57	שְׁבָרָה	38	14	5	57	
עַזְנִים	36	23	10	69	קָרְבָּן	11	26	26	63	שִׁית	v.	37	3	17	57
עַזְוָן	18	27	9	54	רָאֵשׁ	33	9	30	72	שְׁכָנָן	26	26	4	56	
עַזְבָּן	59	0	0	59	רַבָּב	40	9	12	61	שְׁלָמָם	37	11	11	59	
עַזְנִים	36	6	12	54	רַגְלָן	39	6	7	52	שְׁלָמָם	41	24	0	65	
עַדְנָה I.	33	18	15	66	רַרְףָה	45	5	15	65	שְׁמָעָה	34	15	8	57	
	עַנְבִּי	53	10	13	76	רַעַן	44	13	14	71	שְׁקָרָה	29	14	14	57
עַצְמָם	53	13	13	79	רַעַעַן II.	47	7	0	54	תְּחִתָּה	45	0	23	68	
עַתָּה	46	9	5	60	רַשְׁעָה	45	5	11	61	תְּפִלָּה	19	19	23	61	
פָּה	29	15	14	58	שְׁפָה	33	13	6	52						

Although the great majority of the above 86 words are obviously eligible because of some marked "preference" for D poems, some are open to question. Thus אָבָד and גַּשְׁאָה show small total percentages; 6 are below normal in D<sup>1</sup>; 34 are below normal in D<sup>2</sup>; and 33 are below normal in D<sup>3</sup>. But in each of these cases there is some reason for inclusion. Certainly these words have a markedly greater proclivity for the D poems than other "common" words.

In using the list it is wise to omit יהָה, since its distribution is confused by the Elohim of 42-83.

The remaining 85 words occur about 3150 times in the whole Psalter. Of these, 1950 are in D poems (62 %)—1165 in D<sup>1</sup> (37 %), 425 in D<sup>2</sup> (13 + %), 360 in D<sup>3</sup> (11 + %). In all, the 85 words constitute about 17 % of the whole Psalter text.

It will be noted that 15 words here were also given in the "liturgical" test-list used in our first article, viz.: אָדָנִי, בְּתָה, אָתָה, בְּקָשׁ, בְּנֵי, בְּשָׁר, בְּתָה, בְּקָשׁ, בְּנֵי, יְהָה, טָבָב, מַיְוָן, צָרָה, גַּעַל, מַיְוָן, צָרָה, צָרָה, שְׁמָחָה, צָרָה, יְהָה, טָבָב. This fact suggests that considerable L material occurs in the D poems, though the usages emphasized in L are not always the same as those emphasized in D.

Before taking up the particular meanings of these words that are most frequent in D, we may well note how the total occurrences of the words are distributed through the whole Psalter, since this will give a hint as to cases where, apparently, non-D poems are included in the D series, as well as of other cases where, perhaps, D poems have lost the D title. The following table shows the percentage of the total text-length of each poem occupied by the above 85 words (omitting יְהָה):

%	I.	II.	III.	IV.	V.
37	34	—	—	—	—
36	—	—	—	—	141
34	38	54	—	—	120
32	—	—	—	—	140
31	36	—	—	—	123
30	7, 10, 24	—	—	—	—
29	37	—	—	—	—
28	17	—	—	—	—
27	4, 6, 12, 21, 35	55	86	—	133
26	3, 16	62, 64	—	—	—
25	11, 13, 31, 41	—	—	—	109, 112, 125, 143
24	9, 14, 25, 27	63	—	101	—
23	15, 32	—	—	—	—
22	5, 26	49, 51, 53, 59, 70	—	—	—
21	28	57, 66, 69, 71	—	—	—
20	22, 39	52	—	93, 97	122
19	40	—	—	—	130, 138
18	23, 30	—	—	92, 94	—
17	1, 19	56	85	—	110, 142
16	18, 20	61	88	—	116
15	33	—	73, 74, 82, 84	—	119
14	29	50, 65, 68, 72	—	—	118, 144
13	—	44, 48, 58	81, 83	102	115, 121, 131, 145
12	8	—	75	91	107, 126, 129, 147
11	—	46	76	106	108, 124, 128
10	—	60	79	90, 96, 103, 104	113, 139
9	—	43, 45	77, 78, 89	99, 105	127, 146
8	—	42	87	98	132, 135
7	2	47	—	—	—
6	—	67	80	—	111, 149
5	—	—	—	95	137
4	—	—	—	—	114, 134
3	—	—	—	—	150
2	—	—	—	100	136
1	—	—	—	—	148
0	—	—	—	—	117

So far as this table is significant, it indicates that the most doubtful D poems are 8, 29, 33, 58, 60, 65, 68, 103, 108, 124, 131, 139, 144, 145, and, on the other hand, that 49, 66, 71, 92, 93, 94, 97, 112, 120, 123, 125, 130, at least, are lexically cognate with D. Note, also, the following points: the contrast in position between 1 and 2 (the prefatory poems of the completed collection), between 49 and all other "Korah" poems, between 67 and its neighbors, between 111 and 112 (in spite of their likeness in outward form), etc.

The utility of such a test-list as that before us lies in its helping us to designate the main lines of thought that characterize the body of poems from which the list is derived. To reach results we may either regard the words and their usages one by one, or we may make an inductive summary of the contents

of such poems as have a large proportion of these words. Data secured in either of these ways may need to be checked up somewhat by other data, but in general they prove decidedly significant.

It will be found that the dominant class of conceptions brought to the front by using this test-list relates to the antithesis or opposition between "the righteous" and "the wicked", regarded from the standpoint of the former, which, being that of the speakers, is naturally assumed to be correct and ideal. Though this general antithesis is common in religious expression that deals with personality and conduct, in this instance it appears with remarkable peculiarities of sentiment, implying that the occasion of the utterances is exceptional. Besides the natural condemnation of what is regarded as abstractly wrong, there is a bitter protest against the concrete injuries that "the godly" suffer at the hands of "the ungodly." Hence there is a pervasive tone of exasperation, passing into commination or imprecation. The historical implications of this will be discussed later. It is first in order to give some summaries of the lexical facts in detail.<sup>1</sup>

At least two-thirds of the 85 words in the test-list (omitting יְהוָה) are wholly or partially applied to "the wicked" (or the rebellious). As a rule, these usages occur much more often in D than elsewhere. The full force of the facts can be felt only by examining the passages one by one. But the general drift of the evidence is shown by the following condensed summary, in which in each case the figure given first is that of the number of times in D, and the second figure the number in non-D:

עֵשֶׂב, all cases, 50/32; פָּעֵל (usually ptc. with יָמָן), of the wicked, 14/5; יָמָן, all, 20/9; רַע and רַעַז, all, 45/19; רַעַז, against the righteous, 7/5 (3 cases of a "union" of "evil-doers", all D); יְחִיד, of evil combination, 8/5; רַמֵּם, of violence, murder, 7/0; מְרַמָּה, all, 12/2; שְׁקָר, all (exc. 33:17), 11/9; דְּבָר, of evil speech, 20/7; חָרְב, of evil power or speech, 7/3; שְׁלָמָם, "rendering" evil, 3/0; אַיִל, of the bad, 12/4; אַנוּשׁ, do., 9/1; הַם, do., 10/3; אַיִב, toward the speaker, the righteous, or God, 43/11; so, also, שְׁנָא, 15/12; קָוָם, 15/5; רְדָף, 8/6; סְבָב, 8/6; חַשְׁבָּב, 9/0; שִׁית, 3/0;

<sup>1</sup> Here, as in all such cases, it is difficult to devise ways of presenting the data without occupying an inordinate amount of space. Yet the effort is worth making to give some idea of the usages that are statistically so much more frequent in D poems as presumably to be characteristic of them.

בָּשָׁבֵב, 7/5; שָׁכֵן, 1/0; כּוֹן, 7/2; נְשָׁא, 2/1; בְּקַשׁ, 9/2; דָּרְשׁ, 1/0; נְדָל, 4/0; שְׁמָחָה, 5/1; גִּיל, 1/0; נְפָל, 6/2, and punitively, 9/5; so, also punitively, בּוֹשׁ, 11/7; שְׁבָר, 5/4; אָבָר, 9/9; יְרָד, 3/0; רְרָף, 2/1; שְׁאָוֵל, for the wicked, 3/2. לְבָב, of the wicked, 13/10; so, also, קָרְבָּב, 8/1; לְשָׁוֹן, 14/5; פָּה, 16/6; שְׁפָה, 9/2; עַזְּן, 9/3; רָאָשׁ, 6/2; עַצְּם, 2/0; רְגָל, 4/1. מַיִם, in questions by the wicked, 5/0; מַעַן, "because of" enemies, 6/0; נְגַד, "in the face of" enemies, 4/0; בָּבָב, of multiplied hostility or evil, 12/5; תְּחִתָּה, evil "instead of" good, 6/1. Taking all these together, with a few others that are either uncertain or (in four cases) balanced against D, the above list covers 800 references, of which 69% are in D. There can be no question, then, about the validity of the inference that the test-list shows a strong tendency in D to characterize the purposes and deeds of "the wicked."

The usages relating to "the righteous" are equally numerous and striking, often being other applications of the same words:

צְדִיקָה, of men, 30/15; יְשָׁרָה, of men, 10/4; פָּעֵל, of the good, 2/1; טָוָב, of well-doing, 12/1; אִישׁ, of the good, 6/4; הַם, do., 2/0; יְיחָד, of good combination, 3/2; יְרָא, of godliness, 15/12; רְרָף, with good as object, 3/0; מְוֹט, of stability, 10/2; בּוֹן, of fidelity, 5/3; שְׁלּוּם, of welfare or in greeting, 13/9; שְׁלָם, "at peace" 1/0; שְׁבָב, of good act or state, 13/8; שְׁנָן, do., 8/1; שְׁנָא, toward evil, 6/5; קָרָם, of the righteous, 6/4; שִׁית, do., 4/3; חַפְצָה, of devotion, 2/3; תְּחִלָּה, with "my", 13/6; נְדָל, toward God, 5/1; גִּיל, do., 10/8; סְכָבָב, in vows, 4/5; שְׁלָם, of ritual acts, 2/0; שְׁנָא, do., 6/6; רְבָרָב, of good utterance, including prayer, 8/8; בְּקַרְבָּה, toward God, 9/3; so, also, דְּרַשָּׁה, 8/9; חָנָן, Hthp., 2/0; בְּטָחָה, 27/9; חָסָה, 20/5; שְׁמָה, in indignation, 2/0. עַנִּי, of a class, often including the speaker, 23/7; נְשָׁן, subjective, 13/2; שְׁבָב, of the "broken" heart, 4/1; בּוֹשׁ, of chastening, 9/7; נְשָׁא, do., 3/3; רְעֵב, reflexive, 1/0; שְׁבָב, of commitment to God, 1/0, or of God's withdrawal, 8/5; סְתָר, of God's withdrawal, 7/6, or of His protection or forgiveness, 6/0; צָרָה, all cases, 15/7; עַתָּה, with "trouble", 5/0; יְרָד, to death, 7/3; מוֹתָה, of the righteous, 11/4; שְׁאָוֵל, for the righteous, 6/3; נְפָשָׁת, of righteous personality, 81/50; בְּשָׁוֶשׁ, figure for self, 3/1; לְבָב, of the righteous, 47/28; so, also, קָרְבָּב, 5/1?; לְשָׁוֹן, 7/4; פָּה, 13/14; שְׁפָה, 8/4; עַזְּן, 15/18; רָאָשׁ, 8/1; רְגָל, 9/9; עַצְּם, 10/3. רְבָב, absolute (plur.), 8/3, and of "the great assembly," 5/0. מַיִם, in questions by the righteous, 22/15, and as an interjection, 3/0; נְגַד, "in the face of" the righteous, 12/4; תְּחִתָּה, of supremacy, 6/4. Here may be noted the stylistic use of negatives, as נְאָן, 49/18; לְאָן, deprecatorily, 64/28; בְּלָא, 20/10; and, still further, תְּאָן, prep., 14/9. The sum of these usages is about 1900 cases, of which 67% are in D. The characterization of "the righteous", then, seems to be another of the strong tendencies of D.

Besides these, we have many words and usages regarding the personality or acts of God, especially as applied to "the righteous", such as שְׁמָעָה, 29/12; עַזְּן, 9/3; עַנִּה, 26/10; דְּבָרָחָשָׁב, 3/0; מַעַן, in prayers,

appealing to God's attributes, 7/5; יְשָׁבֵךְ, of His regality, 9/8; שָׁבֵן, 2/3; שָׁפֵעַ, 33/18; שָׁפֵעַ, 13/7; נְצֵלָה, 29/9; נְשֵׁאָה, help or forgiveness, 7/3; כָּנָן, 14/18; מְנָן, 10/7; חָרֵב, 2/0; חָנָן, 17/9; חָפֵץ, 7/3; סְכָבָה, 2/1; קְוֹם, 8/10; פְּנֵי, 2/2; שִׁיתָה, in blessing, 5/1, or punitively, 5/6; רְדִישׁ, "require" or "inquire into", 4/0; שָׁגָן, toward evil, 2/0; רְעֵשָׁה, punitively, 0/2; שָׁלֵם, do., 3/1; צְדִיקָה, of His personality, 4/3; יְשָׁרָה, do., 3/3; שָׁ, of His attributes or works, 24/20; רְבָה, do., 6/4; רְגָלָה, 3/2; נְנָדָה, "in the face of" God, 8/5; the name אַדְנָי, 36/18; בְּבָרָה, in praise, 26/15. The sum of these usages is about 575 cases, of which 63% are in D. Certain forms of expression toward God, with certain attitudes toward Him, are also characteristic of D.

If space were available, many details might be added to these bare summaries. For example, in the cases of both רְשָׁעָה and צְדִיקָה D prefers the singular, while non-D prefers the plural; similar phenomena appear with other words for persons. Neither of these critical words occurs in the "Korah" poems, and others are either wanting or very rare in both "Korah" and "Asaph" poems.

There are some interesting points in the style of D. One that is apparent from the above lists is the frequency of phrases that refer to some bodily organ or member. Another is the frequency of certain negatives, among which, however, we do not find לא, which is more frequent in non-D (152/185).

The above statements are rigidly confined to a particular test-list of "common" words. They might be greatly extended by adding certain usages of many other "common" words, which, because of the distribution of their total occurrences, did not happen to be included in the test-list; and also by taking up a large number of synonyms and other terms from the hundreds of "rare" words. These are but hints of further evidence that might be adduced.

However much opinions may differ as to some details in the collation of data indicated in the foregoing summary, it is impossible to escape the general fact that in the D poems there is a remarkable emphasis upon the antithesis between "the righteous" and "the wicked", an emphasis that is not paralleled in extent or intensity in the rest of the Psalter, taken as a whole. Furthermore, as has been already suggested, this antithesis is viewed in a special way, due, apparently, to some conditions that made it poignantly felt. As one studies the poems or passages in which the test-words are most abundant, he cannot escape the sense in them of a vehement protestation, in-

dignant or dejected, on the part of "the righteous." The occasion of this seems to be an extensive experience of detraction and abuse, apparently reaching to personal violence. Hence the sentiments expressed are those of personal outrage, mingled with jealousy over indignity done to the righteous cause which the speakers represent. If there were but few such poems and passages, they would offer no large problem; but their number and interrelations have always provoked inquiry.

In the older commentary, the problem was regarded chiefly as one requiring moral justification or apology, since this "imprecatory" spirit seems contrary to the ideal or Christian spirit. When the Davidic authorship was posited, the apology sought to amplify the details of the personal history of David and his typical place as the establisher of the Chosen People in their historic eminence and the forerunner of Him who should more fully display the divine righteousness and justice. And, whether or not the Davidic authorship was assumed, there was usually an effort so to connect the expression with the ideal mission of Israel as to make it represent the normal attitude of the godly to the general power of evil in the world. It is in some such sense as this, of course, that these poems have been universally adopted by the Christian Church for constant liturgical use.

In the newer commentary, the emphasis of attention has shifted. Usually the moral aspect is lost sight of in the discussion of the antecedent question as to the historical situation implied. It is clear, at all events, that we are in no position to deal fairly with the moral question involved until we have some true notion of the circumstances. But here, as in so much Psalter criticism, we find no well-defined consensus among scholars as to what period and what circumstances are to be supposed. Some critics are apt to discuss each poem or passage largely by itself, often with much subjective impulsiveness.

The facts here presented have to do with this question of historic situation. They seem to indicate that we should not neglect the possibility that the many poems of complaint which largely constitute the D section of the Psalter express primarily the sentiments of a particular class within the Jewish community.

It is not necessary to make much of any theory that "the praying I" is not the individual who writes, but the group or cause that he represents. Every poem must have had an individual author, or be made up of parts so composed, and so must be held to give voice to personal views and feelings. But the fact that such a mass of poems was accumulated, and was so preserved in respect and usage as eventually to become part of the accepted Scriptures, forces the conclusion that in some way they express the convictions of a considerable body of persons, so that they were felt to have utility for permanent liturgical iteration. The actual point of view may play back and forth between what is personal and what is collective. But the critical phenomenon of these numerous poems, connected by many links of thought and expression, and massed together in a canonical collection, is one for which no merely individual or personal explanation will suffice. Some historical inquiry must be made as to their occasion and the conditions that they represent.

There is no doubt that the more characteristic D poems are controversial and polemic. Probably no one would seriously contend that they deal with a purely ideal or abstract situation, or that they are open to an allegorical interpretation. What occasions them is rather real and concrete. Hence we ask, Is the controversy that of godly Israel against the heathen world, or that of one class within the circle of Israel against another class? Many considerations may be suggested in favor of the latter view. We are here concerned with those points that are emphasized by vocabulary statistics. Although such statistics seldom supply really demonstrative proof, they may tend to establish a strong presumption that cannot be ignored.

(a) The D poems contain very few clear references to Israel as a *nation* among other nations, or to its national history. Here they are in strong contrast with some other parts of the Psalter, especially with K and A, as well as many poems elsewhere.

The word **בָּנָי**, clearly applied to Israel as the Chosen People, is relatively rare in D (14 times, as against 46 elsewhere). So with **נַהֲלָה** (4/17), "Israel" (17/42), "Jacob" (6/28). **יְמִינָה**, used figuratively, does not occur in D.

Passages displaying a historic consciousness are extremely few in D, even when liberally estimated, and those that occur are mostly in poems uncharacteristic of D. The Exodus may lie back of the theophany-passage in 18—144, as well as of passages in 33, 68, 103 and 124; and the entrance into Canaan is implied in 9, 10, 110 and 143. The only other clear touches of national experience are those in 60—108 and perhaps at the close of 51. When the amount and vividness of these are compared with what is found in the long historical poems (78, 105, 106), or with the rather numerous allusions in both K and A, in the Songs of Ascents, etc., the historic poverty of D is obvious.

It should be admitted, however, that among the poems that have a large proportion of D words—those in the table on p. 163 whose percentage is (say) twenty or more—there are some that may be given a national interpretation without great difficulty. In particular, among them is 21, one of the “royal” poems. But the amount of such material is small, and the necessity of a national meaning is not clear.

(b) On the other hand, in the D poems generally the arena of conflict seems to be a narrow one. The strife is continual and persistent. It is interlocked with the relations and occupations of ordinary social life. The attacks most often specified are those of derision, slander and malignant innuendo, inspired by motives of settled hatred and oppressive cruelty. There are hardly any expressions that can be construed as referring to either military assault or political subjugation. In several cases the cleavage that is lamented is one between neighbors and friends, those normally so knit together that their rupture brings peculiar sorrow and evil.

It is not necessary to cite the evidence *in extenso*. One has but to read the poems and passages in which D words are most frequent to see that statements like the above are well supported. When these utterances are massed together they give a striking impression of a social and moral situation of great intensity. And, on the whole, the picture presented is fairly consistent with itself.

Without dwelling upon minute points that might be mentioned, it is well to call attention to certain passages that strongly imply that the attrition complained of is within the community. The chief of these are in 10, 12, 15, 17, 26, 31, 35, 37, 38, 41, 55, 59, 64, 69, 101, 109, 141.

If, then, it is the local community which is in view, what are we to suppose was the situation that provoked these passionate outcries? We may assume either one when Judaism was divided

against itself into an orthodox or conservative party and a lax or radical one, or one when the faithful Jewish nucleus was invaded and overrun by an aggressive alien population that derided the austerity and exclusiveness of all Jewish practice. Both of these hypotheses may be defended. But the weight of evidence leans toward the first, as at least the primary occasion of the distress expressed. The strict followers of Yahweh and observers of the traditions stand in opposition to those of their compatriots who have fallen away into worldly habits and who have begun to scorn and attack the faithful. At the same time we may reasonably suppose that such defection is likely only when there was a large infiltration of foreign influences, especially such as came with the Greek domination. The contest would then be not only between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, but between Judaism and Hellenism.

It is conceivable that the situation might be pushed back into the Exile, when the captive people were subjected to strong alien influences in the East, and were slowly being sifted into the two classes implied in the accounts of the Return—the faithful minority and the renegade majority. The objections to this are the total absence, in the D poems, of all touches of "local color" that favor this hypothesis, and the many clear hints that the national sanctuary is at hand.

It is much less conceivable that the situation might be carried back into the time before the Exile. Against this are the lack of references showing temptation to idolatry or distinct national self-consciousness.

It is more than likely that strong partisanship and even the habit of "imprecation" began in the Exile, making its later intensification easy. But in the Exile the question was as to loyalty to Israel as against submergence in an outside heathen world, while later, in the Greek period, it was as to loyalty to the rigid Jewish ideal, at its own center, as against a gradual weakening of that ideal into something else without losing its name or its sense of continuity. The first was essential treason and apostasy; the second might be regarded as merely progressive liberalism.

Just here another notable fact requires attention. In the D poems the godly class is not represented as actually in power. Rather it is in dire distress, in fear, in want, often on the verge of despair—at least such is the implication of the language. In eighteen of these poems occur terms like ענו, עני and אבין, all used as if they were well-known designations. These words

may mean either of two things, or both together—either that the class in view was *voluntarily* poor, or that their piety amid unfavorable conditions resulted in their being *involuntarily* poor. In the one case we catch the hint of an ascetic ideal; in the other, of social persecution and ostracism. Though we may hesitate to press the former hypothesis, it cannot be wholly ignored. Poverty seems to be at least one of the badges of piety. On the other hand, it is implied that material and social power is in the hands of the well-to-do, who, as a class, are religiously lax, if not irreligious, and who, besides, are not only oppressive, but contemptuous of their neighbors.

In the D poems there are few exceptions to this general picture. One notable case, however, is the passage 37:21-26, with which is closely associated the whole topic of 112 (nominally non-D). Both of these are acrostic poems of the moralizing class, the purpose of which is more homiletic than descriptive.

As we consider the situation thus suggested, we may surmise that the time in view is that when the opportunities for commercial relations with the outside world began to disturb and corrupt the social life of Judaism. The question is not between Judaism and idolatry, but between piety and worldliness. It is difficult to suppose that the prosperous class is "the people of the land" in the early Persian period, standing against the zealots who would restore the old order. It is much easier to believe that here we have a clear indication of the growing commercialism of the Greek period, during which Jerusalem was able to advance toward the dignity and wealth that could ultimately tempt the cupidity of an Antiochus.

Without further elaborating this point, we should now note the fact that the D poems, though giving a massive impression such as has been emphasized, are by no means all of the same kind. What is here being magnified is more characteristic of D<sup>1</sup> than of D<sup>2</sup>, very much more so than of D<sup>3</sup>. It is uncertain what is the bearing of the colophon in 72:20 upon the question of an antecedent collection. Apparently there was such a collection, known as "The Prayers of David," which ended with 72, but we have no sign as to where it began or just what it contained. If all or most of the poems now marked "David" were

in it, why are some of them inserted in the Psalter at later points, and why are the two groups in Bks. I-II so widely separated? And what is the explanation of the doublets that occur, especially  $14 = 53$ ,  $40b = 70$ , and  $57 + 60 = 108$ ? Why, also, is one group Elohistic while the others are Yahwistic?

It seems that the way out of this tangle must lie in assuming that the earlier collection ending with 72 was not large, containing not more than the D poems of Bk. II. This collection came to the editors in an Elohistic form, and was retained by them substantially in that form. But, besides, they seem to have had other materials bearing the name of "David" that were Yahwistic, and among them a few doublets, which they utilized as they stood. If there be value in this contention, a special interest attaches to the relation of D<sup>2</sup> to the "Korah" poems that immediately precede, and which are Elohistic, as well as to the "Asaph" poems, also Elohistic, that follow in Bk. III.

It is usually assumed that because Bk. I precedes Bk. II it was editorially earlier, and that the other Books follow in progressive sequence. With this goes the further assumption that the D poems in Bk. I form part of the early collection of which 72:20 is the colophon. But both assumptions may be wrong. A serious objection to the second is the phenomenon of doublets between Books I and II. And there is no essential necessity of the first. It is perfectly conceivable that Bk. II may have been arranged and in use before Bk. I was collected, and that Bk. I was *prefixed* in the final Psalter for special reasons. The purpose of what follows is to emphasize reasons for holding that this is the probable fact. The two topics of importance are the relation in age between D on the one hand and K and A on the other, and the whole question of Elohim. The latter will be dealt with by itself after the former has been discussed.

When we consider the poems of K<sup>1</sup> (42-49) in detail, it is fairly clear that they have to do mostly with national conditions, past or present. Of the D spirit of reaction against social or community injury there are only microscopic touches (in 43 and 49, neither of which may be original parts of the series). Much the same can be said of the poems of K<sup>2</sup> (84-85, 87-88), though the point is not so clear or so well sustained there. The facts

that the two K subgroups are separated, and that one is Elohistic and the other not, raises a question about their original unity, or, at least, about how they come to appear as they do.

42 is a poem of longing for the Temple privileges. The double emphasis on the taunt, "Where is thy God?", with the geographical hints of v. 7, suggests distance from the homeland, rather than exposure to contumely there. If we lay aside v. 9, which is a plain interpolation, and the refrains, which seem to be liturgical antiphons, we have a compact, intense cry of distress, such as fits well into Captivity conditions. Wellhausen's reading of v. 7 increases the vividness of this.

43, at first sight, is only a part of 42, and is so counted by most commentators. In the Hebrew it bears no title, as if belonging to 42. But in the LXX 43 is marked "A Psalm of David." If originally the third strophe of 42, how did it become separated, and how did it acquire this title? Lexically, it differs much from 42, and its tone is different. Hence—in spite of incurring so scornful a remark as Hupfeld made about Venema in this connection—we may venture to call 43 a later addendum to 42, but still probably exilic, or, if postexilic, adapted to its predecessor.

44 has two features foreign to the style of D—the studied reference to ancient history, and the stress on national disgrace. The protestation about apostasy (vv. 18-22) is also to be noted. Laying aside vv. 5-9 and 24-27, which are not surely of the same texture as the rest, leaves a well-formed poem of national depression, which it is natural to connect in some way with 74 and 79. If we suppose 43 to be a later inset, the K series would then open with two effective poems of the same general type.

45 is the first of four poems that not only differ from their neighbors, but in some respects are unique. As I have elsewhere argued (JBL 1900), 45 seems to be highly composite, using some materials belonging to an actual royal situation, but with imposed expansions adapting it to a Messianic application. We simply observe here that it, like its companion poems, implies a vivid sense of preexilic times. The passage addressed to the "daughter" is cognate with passages in II Is. that refer to the personified genius of Israel. All this implies a situation different from that in the D poems.

46, 47 and 48 have a common spirit of triumph, implying a fresh memory of national deliverances. Touches about the stability of Jerusalem suggest an assurance that belongs with preexilic conditions. Specific cases of divine intervention seem to be in mind—whether or not the discomfiture of Sennacherib is immaterial. Probably all have been reworked considerably, but the original themes and spirit are still fairly clear.

49 is in strong contrast with all these. It is a didactic poem, dealing with the problem of riches and poverty. It has not much to connect it with the atmosphere of persecution in D, although lexically it is by far the closest of the K poems to the usage of D. Standing at the end of the subgroup, it may well be a late addition. If really a part of K, it is an example of the moralizing movement of which there are many examples imbedded in D.

The subgroup K<sup>2</sup> is a miscellany. It is broken in two by 86, a rather nondescript specimen of D. At the end stands 89, which we may consider as somehow connected with the preceding poems.

84 differs from 42, which superficially it resembles, in that it does not imply removal from religious privileges. Its spasmodic structure suggests that it may be a cento, of which parts remind one of the Songs of Ascents. If the speaker be collective Israel, it may be a meditation on the Restoration.

85 implies that a national disaster has occurred, but that it is being repaired. It closes with a peculiarly lovely passage.

87 is a unique burst of patriotism, centering in the thought of the Holy City. If 86 is interpolated, then the juxtaposition of 85 and 87 may help the interpretation of both. It is notable that the terms Rahab, Cush and Philistia occur elsewhere in the Psalter only in 45, 60 = 108, 68, 83—all in the Elohistic section.

88 returns to the dejection of 42 and 44. Lexically, it has many links with the D poems, though here the humiliation is the act of God, a visitation very different from exasperating persecution. If 88 and 89 are related, as the titles perhaps imply, the evident national quality of 89 explains the sense of 88.

As to K in general, note (a) that it contains but one "royal" poem, 45, which seems to be an old ode reworked for a new purpose; (b) that it has no acrostic poem, and only one didactic poem, 49, which stands apart from the rest, and no references to the Law or its strict observance; (c) that it has no allusions to sacrifice, except the slight implications of 43:4 and 84:4; (d) that liturgical expressions are few, and all these have the look of interpolations; (e) that there is a general lyric freshness that cannot be missed, including touches of style that in D are found only in the poems that seem most alien to the general tone of that group.

Of the D test-words, note that many are wholly wanting in K, viz.: אָנוֹן, אָתָּה, בְּקָשׁ, דָּם, גָּדָל, דָּרְשָׁה, חָנָן, גָּזָל, מִי, חָפֶץ, חָסֶת, צְדִיקָה, עַתָּה, עַנְהָה, רְדָקָה, רְדָעָה, שְׁלָמָם; and several more are wanting in K<sup>1</sup>, viz.: אָז, בְּשָׂר, שְׁלָמָם, עַשְׂרָה, שְׁמָן, עַיִן, עַזְנָן. Many more occur but once. Since K is so small a group, there is less assurance about a test-list for it analogous to that drawn up for D. About 35 "common" words are at least twice as frequent as the size of the group would warrant. Of these, only 8 are at all frequent in D (none important in the latter),

while at least 15 are very infrequent or wanting in D (including, for example, צָבָא, עַיר, אָב, יְעַקָּב, צָאן, צִיּוֹן, חָרָב, עָבָד, etc.). Lexically, then, there is a striking difference between K and D, though the difference is greater between K<sup>1</sup> and D<sup>1</sup> than between other subgroups.

The Asaph group is larger than K, and more varied in character. Between A and K there is a considerable general affiliation in lexical features, but A has other affiliations as well. If there is any sort of homogeneity in A, special attention is due to the unparallelled poems of national catastrophe, 74 and 79, and also to 78, the longest of the "historical" poems. There is no doubt that the tone of D is heard at several points in A, but not enough to be characteristic.

50, though marked "Asaph," stands detached, between K<sup>1</sup> and D<sup>2</sup>. It opens with a theophany (somewhat as in 18, but with Zion as the place), and proceeds to an assize before God of the חָסִירִים and the רָשָׁע (sing.). The former, who are "My people" and "Israel," receive a remarkable instruction about animal sacrifice, and the latter is rebuked for social iniquities like collusion with theft, adultery, lying and slander. Both sections close with a call to "offer sacrifices of תְּהִרָּה," which is appropriate to neither, if תְּהִרָּה means a material offering. (Probably this call is later than the rest of the poem, and very likely תְּהִרָּה means vocal praise.) The only parallels to the sacrifice-passage are in 40 and 51 (both in D). The teaching about evil-doing also recalls D. Lexically, 50, like 49, is considerably related to D. Hence we infer that it is either (a) a composite of two fragments in the style of D, with liturgical antiphons added, or (b) a liturgical poem with an inserted passage about "the wicked." In any case, it stands apart from the rest of A in substance and style.

73 is also concerned with "the wicked" (here plur.), and the problem of their prosperity. The emphasis on riches and then on death recalls 49, and the references to violence and scoffing recall D. Nothing decisively prevents holding that it was originally an exilic meditation over the riddle of the national disaster (not even v. 17, which cannot be taken to prove that the Temple is standing), or that, as with 49, it represents the reflections of the Wise, such as might occur at any period.

74 and 79 arouse special inquiry, since they concern an extraordinary national calamity. If pertaining to the same event, they supplement each other—74 depicting the destruction of the Temple, 79 the massacre of the people and the degradation of the nation. 44b is usually connected with these. If rightly so, it is more cognate with 79 than with 74, and is less vivid than either, though equally passionate. But

44, like 74, embodies an appeal to ancient history. At the end of 79 is an antiphon that is obviously incongruous.

Is the topic the sack of the city by Nebuchadnezzar or that by Antiochus? The facts cited might belong to either, and the feeling would be natural in both cases. Correspondences may be traced either with II Kgs. 24-25 and Lam., or with I Mac. 1. Great weight has been attached to 74: 8-9 as supporting a Maccabaeon date; but the argument from the allusions here is not conclusive (for instance, we are in no position to say that in the 6th century B. C. there was nothing to which מושׁר could be applied, and on the absence of prophets see Lam. 2: 9). The case cannot be settled so summarily, as the whole Psalter comes into the question. The difficulty lies in the fact that making these poems Maccabaeon involves not only making most of the Psalter similarly late, but then providing time for its growth and gradual codification—all prior to the LXX. The Psalter seems to have owed its canonic place to settled liturgical use. For this time must be allowed. Here it differs from a history or a prophecy. This external peculiarity demands fullest weight in framing a historical hypothesis. The Maccabaeon theory, then, is to be accepted only as a last resort, not because essentially objectionable, but because of its historical difficulties.<sup>1</sup>

Many lexical remarks suggest themselves regarding 79, 74 and 44, but space fails for them here. The three poems have several verbal links. Specially notable are גָּזָה and חָרָפָה, of national disgrace, coupled with defiance of God, as in the stories of Goliath and Sennacherib, and in Neh., Jer., Ezk., &c.; the same sense occurs in 89 and probably in 42, but 18 other cases in the Psalter are all personal. Another interesting word is חָצֵב, 50% of whose occurrences are in K + A (with this cf. שָׁבֵךְ, only 18%, and צָוֵלְם, only 17%). Still another is מַאֲכֵל, which is found only here.

75 has probably been very much reworked. Its nucleus is a forceful passage on the supreme rulership of God (vv. 3-9).

76 has an exultant reference to divine interpositions in the national history, probably events like those celebrated in 46-48.

77 is a pensive, but trustful, comparison of the dark present of national humiliation with the past, especially with the memory of the Exodus. It is probably composite, vv. 17-21 being apparently an appendix.

78 is the longest and most striking of the "historical" poems. It represents one strain of the national consciousness, dwelling on selected events from the records and handling them homiletically. It exhibits a didactic spirit, but, in spite of the earlier verses, not clearly one that much magnifies the Law. Analysis raises many questions, as, for

<sup>1</sup> Most recent critics argue for the Maccabaeon date, but on the other side are Kessler (1899), Kirkpatrick (1902), Briggs (1906-7).

example, whether two narratives have not been fused together, and also what interpretation is to be put upon the references to "Ephraim" (vv. 9, 67).

80, like 77, dwells on the contrast between a distressed present and a past when divine favor rested on the nation. It centers in a beautiful metaphor of the "vine" transplanted from Egypt and spreading from "the sea" to "the River" (cf. Ezk. 17). At the opening note the stress on Joseph, Ephraim, Benjamin and Manasseh—a sense of the tribes rare in the Psalter (never in D, except 60 = 108 and 68).

81, while like 80 in general tone, is peculiar in emphasizing allegiance to God as against "strange gods," and in its reference to the trumpets of the new moon. The former links it with 44b and 50. Though not a lament, its monitory purpose implies a national need of rebuke.

82, like 75, dwells on the supremacy of God among "the gods," but the train of thought is obscure. Perhaps the conception is of a world whose ruling forces, though really under the empire of the true God, are in rebellion and disorder. Hence the final call to God to resume His sway. (vv. 3-4 may not be original.)

83 is obviously national, both in occasion and in citation. It may be the concrete expression of what 82 veiled in abstraction. Israel is attacked by a miscellaneous league, for which the only Psalter parallels are in 60 = 108, 87 and 137. On the whole, these cannot be made to yield much for the Maccabaean hypothesis. They rather confirm the impression that the background here, as in the preceding poems, is that of the Exile.

As to A in general, note (a) that it contains no "royal" poem; (b) that it has no acrostic poem, or anything like the moralizing poems of Bk. I, except, possibly, 73; (c) that it contains no reference to sacrifice, except in 50—a doubtful member of the group; (d) that liturgical passages are few and all probably interpolations; (e) that the handling of national history, past and present, is extremely definite, implying, in the case of 74 and 79, that the facts are not far distant in time. Hence, like K, it presents much general contrast to D.

Of the D test-words, note that many are wanting here, viz.: **עָשָׂה**, **נִיל**, **חָסָה**, **יְאָהָר** (adj.), **סְבָב**, **עָזָב**, **עַמְּךָ**, **שָׁאָל**; and 21 more are found only once (notably **צָדִיק**), several of them in places where possibly interpolation from D may be suspected. A is rather larger than K (A, 10% of the Psalter, K, 7%), but still too small to yield a large special vocabulary. About 30 "common" words are at least twice as frequent as would be expected. Of these, none is specially frequent in D, while 15 are infrequent there (including **צָרָת**, **בְּרִית**, **אַהֲלָה**, **עַקְבָּה**, **אָבִי**, **יִשְׂרָאֵל**, **נְחַלָּה**, &c.). Note, too, that 3 A words are not found in K (**אַכְלָל** v., **אָוֶר**, **יִשְׂרָאֵל**), and that the number emphasized in *both* A and K is rather small (**צָרָת**, **גַּזְחָה**, **עַזְרָה**, **יִעַקְבָּה**, **עַבְרָה**).

If the whole vocabulary of K and A is considered, we find that the

two together use about 1000 words (K, 536; A, 751; common to both, 291), and that about 310 of these are not found in D (12% of K, 17% of A). These non-D words are distributed fairly evenly among the poems, with two notable exceptions—82 has none of them, and 43 only one (quoted from 42). Of the rest, 46, 49, 50, 77 are rather weak, while 45, 48, 76, 80, 81, 83 are notably strong. The words that appear in this list are extremely interesting, as they emphasize the pronounced difference in literary texture and thought-range between these groups and the whole of D. For example, the number of words referring to natural objects and to implements is significantly large.

In view of these considerations, with perhaps others that might be developed, we conclude that K and A, as groups, are so different from D in texture, spirit and allusion that different conditions must be assumed for their origin. Furthermore, K and A present enough apparent connections with the Exile to favor the view that, as groups, they belong to that period. In comparison with them, D seems to be later, since the nationalistic tone of K and A is replaced in D by one that we may call "orthodoxic," and the resentment once felt toward aliens for invasion and oppression gives place to resentment against those within the community who desert and deride the faithful.

Three questions at once emerge as to the validity of these inferences—(1) Why is it inferred that internal strife is later than external? (2) What does it signify that D<sup>2</sup> lies between K and A, and, like them, is Elohistic? (3) What is to be said about the poems in D<sup>1</sup> that are out of harmony with the general tone of the group?

As to the first question. Israel lost its autonomous government and distinct political existence with the Exile. The overthrow by Nebuchadnezzar was so drastic that no full return to the ancient national feeling was ever possible, not even in the Maccabaean outbreak, except in the minds of a relatively small class. But the disaster did not obliterate the national loyalty, as the spirit of the Return abundantly demonstrated. It changed its quality. The old intensely political ambition took on more of the religious hope that gathered force as Judaism advanced. The Psalter preserves signs of these varying phases. In Bks. II-III especially are vestiges of the sense of Israel as an independent state, crushed, but vividly recalling its past glory. In the D

poems is the depiction of the internal conflict of ideas and practices that goes with a changing social order, with but slight outlook upon the world at large. But in the "royal" poems and in some of the liturgical ones are marks of the rise of a new ideal, more or less nationalistic in terms, but religious in essence — the epochmaking conception of Israel as the Messiah.

This line of argument regarding the sequence of things might be considered *à priori* in nature, resting on prejudice or presupposition. But it is strikingly supported by lexical evidence, and, in fact, has fixed itself in the writer's mind as the direct result of inductive investigation of the lexical facts, with the necessity of finding reasonable explanations for them.

In the writer's mind the probability that K and A are in general earlier than most of D and also than the pervasive "liturgical" material (L) was first suggested by the fact that in both K and A are verses in either the D or the L style that seem incongruous with their context and are so situated that they may readily be considered interpolations. If a chart of all the verses in the Psalter is prepared and on it are noted the occurrences of the L and D test-words (in their most characteristic usages), it proves that in most of the K and A poems these words are relatively few and much scattered, except in certain spots. The implication is that these spots are those where interpolation has taken place, sometimes by the insertion of whole verses, sometimes, perhaps, by the remodeling of parts of verses. In most cases one can see reasons why the interpolation was made, if the original poems had been preserved from a time when conditions were different from those when, presumably, the last stages of Psalter-formation were in progress. Without entering upon the extensive discussion of details, we simply give a list of the verses in K and A among which probably are to be found examples of this general phenomenon, viz.: 42:9, 6 = 12 = 43:5; 44:5, 8, 9; 45:18 (and probably many details in the body of the poem); 46:11, 8 = 12; 47:2, 7, 8; 48:2, 9-12; 49:6, 15-16; 50:6, 14, 16-22; 73:25, 28; 74:8-9?, 19, 21; 75:2, 10, 11; 76:8-10; 77:14; 78:4; 79:9, 13; 80:8, 15, 19-20; 82:3-4; 83:17, 18, 19; 84:5, 9, 13; 85:7-8. (In this list possible L and D interpolations are combined, since all that is in view is to indicate the priority of K and A to both L and D.) It is impossible to show, *per contra*, any similar list of passages in D that have the appearance of being interpolated from K and A.

Another line of lexical argument has already been hinted at. The D poems, except in those cases that are plainly uncharacteristic of the group, contain relatively very few references to objects in the world of nature, such as features of the earth's surface, vegetation, animals,

the heavens and their phenomena, and also relatively few references to the constructions and implements that man makes and uses. The K and A poems, on the other hand, like some other groups in the Psalter, make abundant mention of these things. Whether this literary opulence is due to a freer contact with nature and with the activities of life, or to a different use of literature, is a large question. For our purposes here it is enough to observe that the richer style is surely more likely to be the earlier. It may also imply a different habitat or habit of life.

As to the second question. It must be frankly admitted that there is a real difficulty for the theory here advocated in the fact that D<sup>2</sup> is closely associated with K and A by position and also by its Elohim. If, as will be urged at length in the next article of these Studies, the Elohim of Bks. II-III belongs to an earlier period than the pronounced Yahwism of Bk. I, and yet if in Bk. II is a large group of D poems, with much of the plaintive quality that we are here connecting with social friction and reaction, then the argument as to the sequence of things seems to fall to the ground.

To meet this objection, we may urge that there is every probability that internal conflict between the strict and the lax existed in every period, and doubtless found verbal and literary expression. Indeed, the whole range of the prophetical writings illustrates this. Accordingly, there is nothing surprising in the appearance of strong poems of distress and imprecation from what we are calling the exilic stage of the development. Yet, if thus we suppose that D<sup>2</sup> is relatively early, why do we suppose that D<sup>1</sup>, which superficially resembles it, is considerably later? And what shall be done with the poems that have been classed as D<sup>3</sup>? It seems to the writer that the evidence of vocabulary points to the probability that both Bk. II and Bk. III were progressively built out to their present dimensions—that D<sup>2</sup>, with 49 and 50, is subsequent to K<sup>1</sup>, and that K<sup>2</sup>, with 86 and 89, is subsequent to A. But D<sup>2</sup>, though akin in general sentiment to D<sup>1</sup>, differs from it in texture and contents in such a way that it is probably earlier, representing a time when the stress of class conflict had not become so fully established. D<sup>3</sup> represents either the same stage as D<sup>1</sup> or one still later.

In general, we may assume that the three great constituents

of the Psalter literature—liturgical, plaintive and didactic—were all in evidence throughout its whole evolution, however long that evolution may have been. But careful study seems to show that in each of them there were successive stages, distinguishable and even contrasted. It is the great problem of Psalter criticism to attempt the definition of these stages in their probable chronological order. What is here in view is to suggest that the great plaintive strain presents several distinct aspects, and that the aspect most characteristic of D<sup>1</sup> differs from, and seems to be subsequent to, those aspects that appear in Bks. II-III generally, except in passages that may be influenced by D<sup>1</sup>.

Probably the most difficult passages for our theory are ones like 55:10-16, 21-22; 59:7-8, 15-16; 64:2-7; 69:2-13; 70; etc. It is not impossible that some or all of these are examples of accretion upon material that was originally less personally vivid. Discussion of this question will be more convenient at a later point, since it turns largely upon the intrusion of Yahwistic matter into the Elohistic section.

There can be no doubt about the presence in D<sup>2</sup> of much material that is so peculiar that it stands vividly in contrast with the comparative conventionality of most of D<sup>1</sup>. 51 is unique in its way (in spite of some partial analogies with 32); 52, in its most characteristic thought, is matched only by the little 120; 53, with its inexact doublet, 14, stands out in some isolation from its surroundings; 55:2-9 is lyrically singular; 58 is one of the most peculiar of all the poems; 60, and its partial doublet, 108b, stands alone in reference to some historic event or situation; 65b is without much parallel; 68 is notorious for the difficulty of many passages and of its plan. The presence of such passages predisposes one to believe that D<sup>2</sup> is representative of a freer literary stage than D<sup>1</sup>. But it must be admitted that there is also much that links Bk. II with Bk. I. It seems possible to argue that D<sup>1</sup> presupposes the existence of D<sup>2</sup>, and also that the final editing of D<sup>2</sup> was under influences related to the formation of D<sup>1</sup>.

It may be significant that the doxology at the end of Bk. II is by far the most elaborate of the series, though we need not assume that it is as old as the Book. It is also more closely related to the poem that precedes than any other.

Probably phenomena in the titles of Bk. II are also significant, such as the terms **מכתם** and **משכלי**, and the historic occasions named in 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 63.

The poems arbitrarily grouped as D<sup>3</sup> vary much in quality. With D<sup>2</sup> may perhaps be associated the four Songs of Ascents (122, 124, 131, 133) if they have any claim to be counted with D at all. With D<sup>1</sup> may be ranked 86, 101, 109, 138, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144a, 110, 139

(exc. vv. 19-22, which recall D<sup>1</sup>), 144b are each unique in its own way, and stand apart. 103, 145 are cases of the incorporation into D of material that properly belongs to L.

As to the third question. The D groups are not homogenous. Within them are specimens of writing different from that which is most characteristic of D. Some of these appear like isolated vestiges of styles not otherwise well represented, as for example, 8, 29 (main part), 65b, 68 (parts), 110, 139, 144b. All the acrostic poems are within the D circle except 111, 112, 119—of which 112 appears rather clearly to belong to the D family. The affiliations of these poems show that they are not far removed in time from D proper, if at all. The fact that the first of the prefatory poems prefixed to the completed collection is closely related to 119 in thought and diction suggests that the monitory style that usually marks the acrostics was prominent at the latest stage of Psalter development. Of the poems usually called "royal," 18, 20, 21, 61, 63, 110 are in D, and 72, 89 may represent stages of progress leading toward D. Here, again, the fact that the second of the prefatory poems in the completed Psalter belongs to this class suggests that the complicated thought that played to and fro between the historic David and the ideal of Israel was prominent at the close of the evolution. The frequent juxtaposition in D of "liturgical" poems or passages with others of extreme complaint seems to show that one of the last influences upon the collection was that of those who sought to render all its contents suitable for use in public worship and to give them a tone that should not seem unduly pessimistic.

It is surprising to observe that almost all the stronger references to "sin" and "guilt" are in D. So with the more definite references to sacrifice and even to the Temple. As already noted, D has very few passages dealing with natural objects or phenomena, and what there are seem like relics of older literature.

Regarding these facts some rapid remarks may be hazarded. Didactic writing probably began in the Exile, at first standing in some relation to that called "prophetic" (which was essentially didactic in nature). But it tended more and more to ethical moralizing, and finally paid special attention to legalistic regularity (after the fashion of the still later Rabbinism). Its ultimate

tendency in the Psalter is illustrated by 1 and 119. The "royal" poems represent a gradually developing line of thought, rooted in certain passages in the histories and prophecies. David, as Israel's first king, came to be eponymic, and his story was viewed symbolically. Ultimately, "David" came to mean the faithful nucleus of the nation, or its personified genius, the term being applied collectively, like "Israel" or "Jacob." In popular fancy the historic stories of David became typical of the history of the faithful, and so to certain poems were prefixed captions recalling those stories (or, perhaps, suggesting the lections in which those stories were given). In the poems themselves the realistic and idealistic points of view often appear together, fused and confused. The calling of one or more collections of poems by the name of "David" is naturally explained by supposing that they were associated with the experience and sentiments of the faithful.

In spite of the references in D to things pertaining to the Temple, we may query whether these poems represent the official point of view of the sanctuary. This latter is much better connected with the "liturgical" matter generally, most of which lies outside of D. Rather may we refer what is most characteristic of D to the earnest laity, and hence may suspect that it is an evidence of the movement of thought and sentiment that ultimately expressed itself in the institution of the Synagogue. If this be in any degree true, we may suppose that in the final editing of the Psalter there was the uniting of more than one line of effort, so that the completed collection contained elements derived partly from the embryonic Synagogue, partly from the Temple, and partly, perhaps, from a school of moral teachers somewhat distinct from both.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Certain questions about the relation of the above argument to facts in the O. T. Apocrypha and to the warfare of parties in the latest period of Judaism will be discussed in the last division of these Studies.

## The Genealogies of Jesus

HENRY A. SANDERS

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

THE question of the reconciliation and interpretation of the genealogies of Jesus as they appear in Matthew 1 1-17 and Luke 3 23-38 has been a subject of earnest discussion since before the time of Sextus Julius Africanus, from whom we have an explanatory reconciliation written before 240 A. D. I will not burden the reader with a review of the voluminous literature, most of which I have not read, but refer all interested to Peter Vogt, *Der Stammbaum Christi bei den heiligen Evangelisten Matthäus und Lukas* (*Biblische Studien* XII, 3, Freiburg, 1907) and to J. M. Heer, *Die Stammbäume Jesu nach Matthäus und Lukas* (*Biblische Studien*, XV, 1, 2, Freiburg, 1910). All the possible natural interpretations appeared early and have been often repeated. They are as follows: 1) Both genealogies belong to the father Joseph and the differences must be removed or explained; 2) Both belong to Joseph but do not have to be reconciled, for one represents the natural descent, the other the legal; 3) One is the genealogy of Joseph, the other of Mary. A word should perhaps be added about the second. The Jewish law required a man to take into his household the childless widow of a brother and raise up children to continue the name of the brother. Thus Joseph was said to be the natural son of Jacob but legally the son of Heli, who had died childless. As Heli and Jacob were stepbrothers having the same mother but different fathers, the two genealogies naturally gave the lines of different families, uniting however in David. Thus in substance Julius Africanus. It would have been equally easy to find the legal descent in Matthew, the natural in the Luke genealogy, and in like manner the third method of reconciliation

might have a double form according as we assign the Lucan genealogy to Mary or Joseph. Into this controversy I shall not enter. It is sufficient to note that the genealogies of Matthew and Luke differ absolutely in the portion from David to Joseph, but agree from Abraham to David. Luke alone has the part from Adam to Abraham. Furthermore, Matthew agrees with the Old Testament in the main, and for that reason his genealogy has sometimes been called the kingly genealogy, while that in Luke was called the priestly.

A different turn was given to the discussion by the discovery of a notable variation in the form of Matthew 1:16 in the Sinaitic Syriac and related authorities<sup>1</sup>. The main points of the discussion as emphasized by this discovery are as follows: the genealogy in which descent from father to son is traced as far as Joseph appears in direct conflict with the virgin birth as set forth in the immediately following verses 18-25. This opposition is sharpest in verse 16, where we read "and Jacob begat Joseph the husband of Mary, of whom was born Jesus, who is called Christ." Yet the only variant attested in Greek MSS is in the Ferrar group,  $\phi\mu\nu\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu\theta\epsilon\bar{\epsilon}\sigma\alpha\pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\nu\sigma\text{os}\text{ M}\alpha\rho\bar{\epsilon}\text{a}\mu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon\nu$ . This form is supported by all the more important Old Latin MSS and the Curetonian Syriac. It appears to be an intentional change, made with the thought of further harmonizing the genealogy with the virgin birth. In the oldest Syriac MS, the Sinaitic Syriac palimpsest of the fourth century, we find the opposite form: "Joseph, to whom was betrothed Mary the Virgin, begat Jesus called the Messiah." This is supported by the Syriac *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* and by two MSS of the Palestinian Syriac. With the publication of the Sinaitic Syriac in 1894 many scholars seized upon this peculiar variant as positive proof that the opposition between the genealogy and the divine birth was irreconcilable, and that the latter must be a later insert in the text of Matthew; it was of course claimed that Syr S represented the original Matthew text for verse 16. Yet in the work cited Burkitt with regret discards this view and derives the Old Syriac variant from the form found in the

<sup>1</sup> For handy citation of all the variants see Burkitt, *Introduction to Evangelion da Mepharreshe*, p. 258ff.

Ferrar group and Old Latin MSS, while Heer p. 180 accepts the text of Syr S as old, if not original, but interprets it, "Joseph, to whom Mary the Virgin was betrothed, caused Jesus to be enrolled in the Book of Births as his son." The difficulty which the defenders have in saving the text of Matthew is apparent. The general proposition, that the genealogy is inconsistent with the virgin birth, seems practically unavoidable.

In Luke, where the story of the divine birth has never been called in question, the inconsistency is just as decided; and besides the insertion of the genealogy at 3 23 is extremely awkward, coming as it does directly after the voice from Heaven proclaiming him the son of God. Even if we should be willing to omit the whole story of the divine birth, as given in the first two chapters of Matthew and Luke, we should still find the same belief a natural inference from other passages of all four Gospels: e. g. Matthew 3 17 ("this is my beloved son"), Mark 1 2 ("Son of God"), 1 11 ("thou art my beloved son") Luke 3 22 (*ditto*), 4 41 ("thou art Christ the Son of God"), &c. Cf. John 1 34;<sup>2</sup> 3 35, &c. For Paul note Gal. 4 4: "God sent forth his son, made of a woman, made under the law." It is true that no one of these passages is convincing by itself, but their combined evidence accords with the belief in the virgin birth which was undoubtedly held by the Church from a very early period. For my purpose this is sufficient, as I do not propose to discuss its origin.

With this state of the case in the Gospels and Paul, it remains to attack the genealogies, if we will remove inconsistency. That critics have not already solved the problem in this way is not surprising, for there can be no question that the genealogy is a Jewish idea and was known to the early Church; cf. among many passages, Rom. 1 3 (of the seed of David according to the flesh), 2 Tim. 2 8 (Jesus Christ of the seed of David), Acts 13 23; John 7 42; Luke 1 32; Matthew 9 27; 21 9; 22 42; and it is implied in Luke 24 27. A genealogy was the natural adjunct

<sup>2</sup> & 28, 255 Ir<sup>191</sup> Epiph<sup>427</sup> Or<sup>1,389</sup> Bas Titmanich Serap Cyr Victorin Hier omit.

<sup>3</sup> &<sup>\*</sup> 77, 218, e Syrcu have "the chosen one of God."

to this Old Testament prophecy and may well have been traced out early in the history of the Church. But such a genealogy to be consistent with the divine birth must give the descent of Mary, not Joseph, as is apparently the case in both Matthew and Luke. Also in the other earlier sources the genealogy is understood to belong to Joseph and only later is it referred to Mary. The reason for this early attitude is well given by Chrysostom<sup>4</sup>: δὰ σωθῆναι τὴν Παρθένον, καὶ ἵποψίας ἀπαλλαγῆναι πονηρᾶς. Εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γέγονε κατάδηλον, καν κατέλευσαν τὴν Παρθένον κακουργοῦντες τῷ λεγομένῳ, καὶ μοιχείας αὐτὴν ἔκριναν ἄν. Chrysostom says that this idea is not from himself but from "our fathers, wonderful and distinguished men." Who these older authorities were we do not know, but so surprising a statement points to an author old enough to know that the genealogies had been in general circulation before the story of the divine birth was taught by the Church. Yet whatsoever the earlier beliefs of the church may have been, at the time of writing the Gospels belief in the virgin birth held sway. Jesus might still be, and as we have seen from the citations above, was spoken of as the son of David; but it was quite a different matter to attempt to prove that descent by tracing his genealogy through Joseph. That is an inconsistency so direct as to force us to consider the possibility of divided authorship. Yet at whatever time the genealogies came into the text of Matthew and Luke, they are presumably derived from earlier lost documents or from still older tradition. Their admittedly ancient character, however, can not be used to bolster up their claim to a place in the present Gospels, for that is a question to be settled on the basis of text criticism, and the evidence against it, though scanty, is definite and old.

For Matthew 1 1-17 we have above noted the evident attempts in the Greek MSS of the Ferrar group, Old Latin MSS, and some Syriac authorities to accommodate the genealogy to the divine birth by a change in verse 16. Furthermore, if the text of Syr S is the earlier, all Greek MSS have suffered a similar though less drastic change. By the aid of the Syriac *Dialogue of Timothy and Aquila* and the Palestinian Syriac the Syr S

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Hom. iii. in Matt.*

text can be traced back to about 200 A. D.<sup>5</sup>, while the regular text finds its oldest representative in Tertullian at about the same time. We can see why the contradiction between genealogy and divine birth should be smoothed over, but it is not clear why a change should be introduced merely to emphasize it. Even against Burkitt I must hold that Syr S represents an older form of the text than that found in the Greek MSS. This is tantamount to saying that the whole genealogy is from a different author than the rest of the Gospel.

This view finds further support from the omission of these verses in the Old Latin MS *r*<sub>2</sub>, though it is not absolutely certain that the omission was original. Mr. Alfred de Burgh, librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, gives the following information in regard to this MS: "*r*<sub>2</sub> (Garland of Howth) is all on separate leaves, perhaps cut by the binder in 1831. It begins at Matthew 1:18 with a very large, ornamental XPI fully parallel to the ornaments at the beginnings of the other Gospels." Yet in spite of this he expresses the opinion that an earlier leaf containing verses 1-17 has been lost. His reason is doubtless a widespread characteristic of old Bible MSS of Ireland and England, noted by Wordsworth with the words, "the genealogy was treated with greater freedom than the rest of the text as being in some sense outside of the Gospel; many MSS, both British and continental, make a new departure at *Christi autem generatio sic erat* often with large and elaborate initials."<sup>6</sup> Wordsworth and White in the edition of the Vulgate note this characteristic in the MSS D E P L M Q R V Y, to which we may add J P Z, dimma, mulling, harl. 1802, harl. 2797, Codex Aureus, Brit. Mus. Reg I A xviii, Paris 256, &c. Wordsworth further notes that there is an addition after verse 17 in some Old Latin and Vulgate MSS, giving the number of generations from Abraham to Jesus; also the Lindisfarne MS (Y) actually begins the Gospel with the words *Incipit Evangelii Genealogia Mathei* and inserts the true title *Incipit Evangelium secundum Mattheum* before verse 18. This change in title is now found to be supported by a later hand (9<sup>th</sup> or 10<sup>th</sup> century) of MS Z;

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Burkitt and Heer, *loc. cit.*

<sup>6</sup> Cf. *Old Latin Biblical Texts*, i. p. xxxvi.

also a similar variation is found in the Book of Deer, which has no title, but after 1 17 inserts *Finit prologus. Item incipit nunc Evangelium secundum Matheum*, while 1 18 begins the next page with fine capitals. Brit. Mus. Reg I B vii supports these, starting a new column with ornament at 1 18, before which there is a vacant space extending over half a column. MS  $\Xi$ P (through the fault of the binder) begins with 1 18 and the genealogy comes two leaves later. Vulgate G, supported by Sangallensis 49, has added before 1 1 an extra genealogy from Adam to Abraham, which seems drawn from Genesis and Luke. Not only is the statement of Wordsworth about the free treatment of the genealogy well supported, but on the basis of this evidence we may class  $r_2$  with Y, Book of Deer, and Z<sup>2</sup> as beginning Matthew at 1 18, and so it is quite possible that in this MS also the genealogy was originally prefixed as an introduction. It may, however, be noted that  $r_2$  has a more extensive ornament at 1 18 than is found in the other MSS.

The genealogy in Luke was added still later, and much more decided evidence of its original omission remains. The Washington MS of the Gospels (W) of the fourth century omits it, giving Luke 3 23 in the form found in  $\Xi$  B L fam. 1 &c., but stopping with *Iωσῆφ*. Verse 1 of chapter 4 follows with projecting paragraph and preceded by slight vacant space at the end of the previous line, as is usual in W before a paragraph. There is not the slightest sign that the scribe knew of any omission at this point. The genealogy was surely omitted by the parent of W, which must be dated soon after 300 A. D. W is supported in this omission by minuscule 579, a 13<sup>th</sup> century copy of a very early uncial MS. which in Mark, Luke, and John shows strong affiliation with  $\Xi$  B &c., though often having older so-called Western readings.<sup>7</sup> Furthermore, 579 omits all of verse 23, thus lacking the statement about the fatherhood of Joseph, which is found in W. This introduction to the genealogy varies much in the different families of MSS and may have been originally only a gloss; but whether original or a gloss, it certainly determined the place for the insertion of the whole genealogy. Because of the somewhat awkward character of

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Schmidtke, *Die Evangelien eines alten Unzialcodex*, Leipzig, 1903.

this introductory phrase, when separated from the rest of the genealogy, it is difficult to decide whether it was an insertion in some ancestor of W or omitted by the parent of 579; but I am inclined to think the form in 579 original, and therefore W gives a form of text corrupted by the insertion of a gloss, though we must admit that the insertion was very old, far antedating the parent of W.

The evidence for the original omission of the genealogy of Luke is probably not much strengthened by its absence in all the older lectionaries of Matthaei (47, 50, 51, 52, 53), though it is well to note that the later lectionaries have it. Matthaei thought that the omission was due to the fact that for a certain time the genealogy was not read in church; but we now see that the omission, if it be so styled, occurred as early as the third century. As the texts of the lectionaries developed to some extent independently of the regular Bible MSS, the failure in a branch of that tradition may be considered as additional evidence of early or original omission.

The evidence of the sixth century Greek-Latin MS D d is more puzzling and has been generally disregarded. Allowing for some changes in transmission the text of D d gives the genealogy of Matthew in the place of the Luke genealogy, but in inverted order to agree with the Lucan form and with the addition of the names from Adam to Abraham, which Matthew did not give. Also after *ιεχονιον* the two names *ιωακεμ* and *ελιακεμ*, and after *ολεια* the three *αμασιον*, *ιωα* and *οχολιον* are inserted, and *αβιωνδ* replaces *αβια*. For all these except *ελιακεμ*<sup>8</sup> there is old though scanty authority in the Matthaean tradition of the genealogy, but not in the Lucan. The explanation of this peculiar combination is not far to seek. The original D d text omitted the Lucan genealogy, as do W and 579. Neither was any Lucan genealogy known in the home of the D text at that time (early second century?). A genealogy showing affiliation to Old Latin, Old Syriac, and Ethiopic MS tradition was accordingly borrowed from Matthew. Later the text was superficially brought into accord with the then current Luke genealogy.

<sup>8</sup> *ελιακεμ* occurs later in both genealogies, so it is here only a mistake due to careless correction or an intrusion from the neighboring column.

by adopting the inverted, abbreviated form and by adding the names from Adam to Abraham. Either the scribe making the change did not fully understand the difference in the names from David to Joseph; or he was trying to bring his text into seeming accord, but at the same time to retain as much as possible of his original. D, however, shows elsewhere such decided likeness to the earlier portions of the W text that I have no hesitation in claiming the original D text as another authority for the omission of the Luke genealogy. Not only does it seem necessary to date the common ancestor of W, D, and 579 early in the second century, but all the later Church fathers, from Julius Africanus and Origen on, seem to have known both genealogies. On the other hand Epiphanius has Cerinthus and Carpocrates (early second century) refer to the genealogy of Matthew alone as proof that Jesus was the son of Joseph.<sup>9</sup> As these men were the leaders of heresies maintaining the purely human origin of Jesus, it is not likely that they would have referred to the genealogy of Matthew specifically as the proof of their contention if other genealogies had been current.

Further evidence for the original omission of the Luke genealogy can be drawn from the forms of the names in the Sinaitic Syriac. In spite of the extremely early character of the text as a whole, there are names which show the influence of Greek mistakes, or rather of mistakes appearing in the Greek MSS  $\aleph$  and B with but little if any other support; cf. Jobel (=  $\aleph$  B)<sup>10</sup> against  $\omega\beta\eta\delta$  of all other authorities; the interchange of  $\Lambda$  and  $\Delta$  was common in Greek uncials; Sala (=  $\aleph^*$  B Eth) against  $\sigma\alpha\lambda\mu\omega\nu$  of all others; Adam (=  $\aleph^*$  Eth) against  $\alpha\mu\omega\alpha\delta\alpha\beta$  of all others. A careful study of all the names would exceed the limits of this paper, but the secondary character of the text is shown by Syriac mistakes as well as by Greek. This accords so ill with the rest of the text, that the genealogy seems best explained as a later insert. Somewhat doubtful also is the evidence derived from Cyril's failure to mention the genealogy in his commentary on Luke. Alone this would not be a very

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Haer.* xxx. 14.

<sup>10</sup> D<sup>gr</sup> has  $\omega\beta\eta\lambda$ .

convincing proof that the genealogy did not stand in his copy of the Gospel; but added to our other old evidence of omission, it must bear the same interpretation.

I have reserved one piece of evidence, and that in my opinion by far the weightiest, because it applies equally to Matthew and Luke. Theodoret tells us that in the *Diatessaron* Tatian omitted the genealogies and all other passages which show that Christ was born of David by the flesh.<sup>11</sup> There are two MSS of the Arabic *Diatessaron*, of which the younger, a Vatican MS, contains the genealogies as a part of the text, but the older Borgian MS has them added as an appendix with the title "*The Book of the Generation of Jesus.*" This contradiction of authorities is a striking parallel to what seems to have been the history of the genealogy in Matthew. In the case of the *Diatessaron* the statement of Theodoret is sufficient to establish the true conditions. The *Diatessaron* originally lacked the genealogies; later someone added them as an appendix, so as to harmonize with the New Testament. The form with the genealogies inserted in the text, as found in the Vatican MS, exhibits the work of a second harmonizer. The Latin harmony of Victor of Capua (*Codex Fuldensis*) preserves only the arrangement of the *Diatessaron*; the text is that of the Vulgate and the genealogies even are contained. However, a table of contents in Vulgar Latin precedes the text, and in this there is no mention of the genealogies, so we may assume that they are a later insert here also. We must further note that the Arabic *Diatessaron* (4 29) has Luke 3 23a, thus agreeing exactly with W in the amount of the Luke genealogy omitted. The conclusion that we reached above, *viz.* that the insertion of the statement about the fatherhood of Joseph must have antedated the immediate parent of W, is fully confirmed. The agreement of W and the *Diatessaron* in retaining this sentence while omitting the genealogy, is conclusive evidence that they are reproducing an established text form.

On the other hand Theodoret seems entirely wrong in his statement that Tatian omitted all other passages which show that Christ was born of David by the flesh. Against this we

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Haer. Fab.* i. 20.

can cite: Arabic Diatessaron 1 33 (= Luke 1 32) 'his father David'; 12 33 (= Matthew 9 27) 'son of David'; 35 6 (= John 7 42) 'the Messiah shall come of the offspring of David, and from Bethlehem the village of David'; 35 18 (= Matthew 22 42) 'the son of David'; 39 32 (= Matthew 21 9) 'son of David'; in fact all such passages naming or implying that Christ was the son of David appear in the MSS in the proper place. It seems clear that Theodoret was giving the reason why he thought the genealogies were omitted, and so assumed that the similar passages must have been omitted also. As he was wrong in the one case, so he probably was in the other. Tatian omitted the genealogies because they were not present in the MS or MSS of the four Gospels used by him in making the harmony. As the composition of the Diatessaron fell between 150 and 180 (probably about 175), the MS or MSS which he used, rank among the most ancient authorities for the Gospels of which we have any definite information.

This is the evidence against the genealogies so far as I have been able to gather it. There is perhaps too much of inference and too little of actual MS authority for us to consider the matter proved, but it affords a more natural explanation for the inconsistencies and omissions noted than any alternative explanation. The very early heresies noted by Eusebius as well as by Epiphanius<sup>12</sup> might well have caused the insertion of genealogies in the Gospels of Matthew and Luke, if other books or records, then extant, contained them.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Haer.* xxx. 14.

## The Latin Prologues of John

BENJAMIN W. BACON

YALE UNIVERSITY

THE Latin texts of the New Testament as recently presented in Wordsworth and White's edition of the Vulgate,<sup>1</sup> have four different forms of preface to the respective Gospels, the MSS. which have prologues sometimes presenting one, sometimes another, sometimes more than one, in various orders of arrangement. In the present discussion I shall limit myself to the prologues to the Fourth Gospel, and shall dismiss with the briefest possible mention those forms which have already been adequately discussed, or for other reasons throw no new light upon the problem of its authorship.

The first form of prologue appears in only two codices, those designated H and Θ by W-W. Even here it is but the former of two alternates. It is a simple excerpt from Augustine's treatise *De Consensu Evangeliorum*, i. 4. As such we may designate it the Augustinian and dismiss it; for its variants are insignificant and Augustine himself is not employing sources nor reporting tradition, but only giving his own estimate of John as compared with the Synoptic Gospels.

The form of prologue next in order of dismissal is by far the most common. It is highly interesting and important, but has already been discussed with remarkable scholarship and acumen by Corsen under the title "Monarchianische Prologe" in vol. xv. of Gebhardt and Harnack's *T. u. U.* (1896, pp. 1-138). Corsen has demonstrated that while it accompanies many forms of Jerome's translation, it is not derived from him, but is a survival of the older period. He shows that the group of four prologues of this type presuppose a different order of the

<sup>1</sup> Referred to hereinafter as W-W.

Gospels in the canon from Jerome's. They further exhibit a Monarchian doctrine of the person of Christ which in Jerome's time had become antiquated and heretical, and in particular the prologue to the Fourth Gospel presents material independently traceable to an older source through no less than ten authorities including Augustine. Most of these are independent, several older than Jerome; and they refer the data explicitly to an ancient *Historia ecclesiastica*, which must have had written form to account for the coincidence in language of the excerptors. According to Corssen this *Historia*, probably current in the form of a prologue or argumentum, reflected still the controversies of the close of the second century on the canonicity of John. He dates the *Historia* accordingly in its primitive form, which he reproduces from the ten excerptors, no later than the first quarter of the third century, when Roman orthodoxy was still of a decidedly Monarchian type. If I am not mistaken, evidence could be added from Epiphanius,<sup>2</sup> as an eleventh excerptor, connecting some of the data with Hippolytus, the defender of the Johannine writings against Caius *ca.* 207 A.D. But I will not delay longer with this form of prologue, which with Corssen we may designate the Monarchian.

The third form of prologue is found in three codices designated by W-W H, Θ,<sup>3</sup> and Benedictus. It might be dismissed as promptly as the first, but for its occurrence also in briefer recension in a fourth, the so-called Codex Toletanus, of which we have presently to speak more at length. Apart from this it would not detain us; for in the longer recension of H Θ Bened. this prologue is purely and simply an extract from ch. ix of Jerome's *De Viris Illustribus*. Not only does it transcribe the whole chapter almost unchanged and quite without regard to the fact that the later paragraphs are inappropriate, seeing they relate to the Epistles and Revelation and the death and burial of John; it does not even omit Jerome's promise to his readers to discuss the subject of John the Elder and the two tombs at Ephesus when he shall reach in order the name of Papias. This description of course was never written for any

<sup>2</sup> *Haer.* li. 2 and 12.

<sup>3</sup> In H Θ as the alternate to the Augustinian.

other work than the *De Vir. Ill.* Indeed Cod. Θ is quite honest in its borrowing, and gives the extract the plain title *Incp* *prēf hieronimi prb* in *iohn*. Only this heading has had the misfortune to lose its place. It now stands over the extract from Augustine which in Θ precedes that from Jerome. Whatever, then, may be true of T's shorter recension, the longer, that of H Θ Bened., certainly rests upon Jerome. Its variations, of which only one, to be discussed hereafter, has any importance, give no indication of acquaintance with any outside source. We are therefore fully justified in designating this prologue—at least in its longer form—by the title Θ has given it: “*prēf hieronimi*” = Prologue of Jerome. That Jerome himself employs the *Historia Ecclesiastica* has been shown by Corssen.

The fourth and last form of prologue is given by W-W as appearing in only one codex (apart from T which must again be temporarily set aside). This MS. is the so-called Codex Reginae Suetiae, or Reginensis, a Vatican Vulgate MS. of the ninth century, catalogued as Alex. Nr. 14 and edited by Cardinal I. M. Thomasius (Opp. 1, p. 344, Romae 1747). But the limitation of W-W is due to oversight. Corssen, whom W-W do not mention, had given in the work above cited the collation of this prologue from another MS. in the Royal Public Library at Stuttgart (fol. 44). Stuttgartensis, as I shall call this MS., presents the same text as Reginensis, with three slight variations to be considered later. The form of prologue here represented we may designate the Graeco-Latin; for it gives clear evidence, at least in the first part, of translation from some Greek original. It is that which possesses for us at present the most vital interest; for while confessedly composite, corrupt and legendary, it professes to give the testimony of the *Exegetes*<sup>4</sup> of Papias to the publication of the Gospel by John himself “while yet in the body.” Moreover Clemen's *Entstehung des Johannesevangeliums*, 1912, a work of the foremost rank, now proposes to accept the statement after due allowance for errors of translation and transcription. Clemen does not himself admit the Johannine authorship of the Gospel,

<sup>4</sup> The texts vary between 'Εξήγησις and 'Εξηγήσεις. As a matter of convenience only we employ the title *Exegetes*.

but he holds that Papias did; and that he so testified in his *Exegetes*. If so, we have in this single clause of a rare Latin prologue a testimony outweighing in importance all the rest of the external evidence for the Fourth Gospel put together. But it is time we returned to T and its alleged extract from Papias.

Codex T is a Spanish MS. of the tenth century of somewhat mixed descent. According to Burkitt it contains "not a few Old Latin readings." Like codd. H, Θ, and Bened. it has more than one prologue to John, placing first the common or Monarchian, under the title: *Incipit Praefatio sc̄i evangelii sc̄um Iohannem*. After this prologue follows another with the heading "Incipit Prologus Secundus," whose peculiarities we have now to consider. The first two-thirds of this second prologue of T (T 2<sup>a</sup>) are parallel to the first part of the chapter of *De Vir. Ill.* which in H Θ Bened. constitutes the prologue of Jerome. The last third (T 2<sup>b</sup>) is parallel to the prologue of the fourth form—that of Regin. and Stuttg. According to Burkitt this singular combination is not due to conflation. He denies that the scribe of T has merely attached the Graeco-Latin prologue after the pertinent part of the Hieronymian, and alleges as the true explanation of the phenomena that the second prologue of T represents the original source from which both Jerome and Regin. have drawn. Jerome, says Burkitt, has used its first two-thirds (= T 2<sup>a</sup>) for what he has to say about John's relation to the Gospel; Regin. has used its last third (= T 2<sup>b</sup>) as a separate argumentum. This view is presented by Burkitt in an *Excursus* entitled "The Prologue to St. John in Codex Toletanus" appended to his *Two Lectures on the Gospels*.<sup>5</sup> It is based on a comparison of the prologue with its two parallels, in which the differences from T (changes and additions as Burkitt considers them) are marked by italics, and omissions by ~ ~. His conclusion is that the second prologue of T "gives the earliest form known to us of a very remarkable theory of the origin of the Fourth Gospel". To judge of the value of this conclusion we must reproduce Burkitt's comparison, placing the texts for greater convenience in parallel columns,

<sup>5</sup> Macmillan, 1901, p. 90.

and adding to the text of Cod. Regin. in [] the variant readings of Cod. Stuttg. For Burkitt, in exclusive dependence on W-W, overlooks Corssen's additional MS. It should be observed that in Codex Toletanus there is no division, T2<sup>b</sup> being linked to T2<sup>a</sup> by a simple *igitur*.

## Tolet.

Iohannes apostolus, quem Dominus Iesus amavit plurimum, novissimus omnium scripsit hoc Evangelium, postulantibus Asiae episcopis, adversus Cerinthum aliasque haereticos et maxime tunc Ebionitarum dogma consurgens, qui asserunt stultitiae suae pravitate — sic enim Ebionitae appellantur — Christum antequam de Maria nascetur non fuisse, nec natum ante saecula a Deo Patre. Unde etiam compulsus est divinam eius a Patre nativitatem dicere.

Sed et aliam causam conscripti huius Evangelii ferunt: quia, cum legisset Matthei, Marci, et Lucae de Evangelio volumina, probaverit quidem textum historiae et vera eos dixisse firmaverit, sed unius tantum anni in quo et passus est post carcerem Iohannis historiam texuisse. Praetermisso itaque anno cuius acta a tribus exposita fuerint, superioris temporis antequam Iohannes clauderetur in carcere gesta narravit, sicut manifestum esse poterit his qui quattuor Evangeliorum volumine legerint diligenter.

## Jerome.

Iohannes apostolus quem  $\wedge$  Iesus amabat plurimum, *filius Zebedei et frater Jacobi apostoli quem Herodes post passionem Domini decollaverat*, novissimus omnium scripsit  $\wedge$  Evangelium, *rogatus ab Asiae episcopis, adversus Cerinthum aliasque haereticos et maxime tunc Ebionitarum dogma consurgens, qui adserunt  $\wedge$  Christum ante  $\wedge$  Mariam  $\wedge$  non fuisse  $\wedge \wedge$ .* Unde etiam compulsus est *et* divinam eius  $\wedge$  nativitatem edicere.

Sed et aliam causam *huius scriptae* ferunt: quod, cum legisset Matthei, Marci  $\wedge$  Lucae volumina, probaverit quidem textum historiae  $\wedge$  vera eos dixisse firmaverit, sed unius tantum anni in quo et passus est post carcerem Iohannis historiam texuisse. Praetermisso itaque anno cuius acta a tribus exposita fuerant, superioris temporis antequam Iohannes clauderetur in carcere gesta narravit, sicut manifestum esse poterit his qui diligenter quattuor Evangeliorum volumina legerint. *Quae res et διαφωτίας quae videtur Iohannis esse cum ceteris tollit.*

To the comparison thus instituted Burkitt adds as his only comment:—

"I feel thoroughly convinced that St. Jerome has borrowed from the document now represented to us by the prologue in Codex Toletanus, and not *vice versa*. There are just the stylistic alterations that

a rapid and practised pen would make in borrowing a document for incorporation in a Biographical Dictionary. The awkward sentences in lines 5, 6 and 10 (here lines 3, 4, 10) of the prologue are curtailed, while fresh, though rather commonplace information is inserted in convenient places, such as the first sentence."

Against this inference of dependence by Jerome, based exclusively on the internal evidence, we must set: (1) the universal rule that where a reading occurs compounded of two factors each of which is separately attested it is the compound and not the factors which is derived, (2) the composite character of T, which as Burkitt himself declares has "not a few Old Latin readings"; (3) the analogy of the other three codices H, Θ, and Benedictus which unmistakably (and in one case avowedly) depend on Jerome.

But the real explanation of the omissions and variations of T will become apparent from a comparison of the variations of H Θ Bened. from their acknowledged source. Only one differs from the ordinary trifling transcriptional variation, and this exception occurs only in H Θ, not in Bened. Its nature is at once so amusing and so instructive on the point at issue that I must once more resort to the 'deadly parallel'.

Jerome.

Iohannes apostolus quem Iesus amabat plurimum, filius Zebedei et frater Iacobi apostoli quem Herodes post passionem Domini decollaverat novissimus omnium scripsit &c.

Θ [H].

Iohannes apostolus quem Iesus amavit plurimum, filius Zebedei & frater Iacobi apostoli qui narrat Iohannem Baptistam ab Herode decollatum fuisse [H fuisse] novissimum omnium scripsit &c.

The scribe of the H Θ archetype in attempting to correct what he took to be a blunder of his authority has piled up such a monument of nonsense as rarely breaks the monotony of the textual critic's road. Not recognizing Agrippa I. of Acts 121 under the name "Herodes," he informs us gravely that the Fourth Gospel makes Herod the murderer of the Baptist. Now it so happens that the clause of Jerome thus murdered by the overwise transcriber is the same clause which Burkitt relies on to prove that Jerome is here adding to the archetype of T, not T omitting from Jerome; for there is no other *plus* of Jerome in the portion paralleled. But suppose

the scribe of T found this text of H Θ in his copy under its proper heading, *Præfatio Hieronymi Presbyteri*. What would he do when he encountered this ridiculous snarl? There are only three things he could do. (1) He might attempt to improve upon it, but has wisely abstained. (2) He might simply cut it out, since the sense does not require it. (3) He might possibly refer to the original to see what it did mean; but even then he would be most likely to cut it out, for even if he was more successful than his predecessors in discovering the real sense, he could not fail to see that for his purposes it was superfluous. The real explanation then is the opposite of Burkitt's. Jerome has not added, but T has omitted. The same of course applies to all that follows “*evangeliorum volume legerint diligenter.*” The whole passage down to *quae res et διαφωνίαν quae videtur Johannis esse cum ceteris tollit* is simply Jerome's paraphrase of Eusebius' *H. E.* III. xxiv, 7-13, the very Greek word being borrowed. But for the purposes of a prologue to the Gospel all that related to the Epistles and Apocalypse, the two Johns in Ephesus, and all the rest included by H Θ Bened., was most unsuitable. Even a scribe, if he gave any consideration at all to space, would feel that it ought to be cut off; and in cutting it off the obvious place for amputation would be after “*legerint diligenter.*” To include the clause about *διαφωνία* would be to raise more devils than one might be able to lay.

But if the *plus* of Jerome is wrongly interpreted by Burkitt, the case with the supposed “alterations” and “curtailments” is still worse. It is true that T has a *plus* of a number of explanatory words and clauses such as *Dominus Iesus, hoc evangelium stultitiae suaे pravitate, sic enim Ebionitae appellantur*, and *nec natum ante saecula a Deo Patre*; but additions of this sort are precisely what we should expect in the later and derived form (*brevior lectio præferenda*). Moreover some of these differences (e. g. *amavit* for *amabat*, cancellation of *et* before *divinam*, addition of *et* before *vera*) coincide with the minute variations of H Θ Bened., a phenomenon which is proof positive of affinity between T and the codices which undeniably depend on Jerome.

Herewith then we may eliminate the third form of prologue, the Praefatio Hieronymi. The second prologue of T as a whole (T 2) is not early, but is a typical example of conflation. The factors are, for T 2<sup>a</sup> the source represented in H Θ Bened., i. e. *De Vir. Ill.* ix, with or without recomparison of Jerome. For T 2<sup>b</sup> it is the Prologus Graeco-Latinus of Stuttg. and Regin, to the consideration of which we now proceed.

One cannot but feel a sincere regret when so hopeful and suggestive a theory as Burkitt's of the great antiquity and value of Prologus Secundus Toletani collapses. Fortunately in this case the antiquity and value of the portion which really concerns us, viz, T 2<sup>b</sup>, the Graeco-Latin prologue, is not affected. Burkitt attempted to prove that this was older than Jerome because of its connection with T 2<sup>a</sup>. He seems to have overlooked the fact that Harnack had already proved it older than Philastrius, Jerome's older contemporary.<sup>6</sup> The following table exhibits the textual evidence for the prologue from our three authorities, the right hand column exhibiting the variations of Regin. (and in [ ] Stuttg.) from T. To it we append the passage from Philastrius cited by Harnack.

T 2<sup>b</sup>.

.....  
Hoc igitur evangelium post apocalipsin scriptum manifestum et datum est ecclesiis in Asia a Iohanne adue in corpore constituto sicut Papias nomine Theropolitanus episcopos discipulus Iohannis et carus in exotericis suis id est in extremis quinque libris retulit qui hoc evangelium Iohanne subdictante conscripsit.

Verum Archinon hereticus quum ab eo fuisset reprobatus eo quod contraria sentiset prelectus est a Iohanne. hic vero scriptum vel epistolas ad eum pertulerat a fratribus missus qui in Ponto erant fideles in domino nostro. amen.

Regin. [Stuttg.]

*Incipit argumentum secundum Iohannem* ^ ^ *Evangelium Iohannis* ^ ^ *manifestatum et datum* [Stuttg. om. et datum] *est ecclesiis* ^ *ab Iohanne adue in corpore constituto sicut Papias nomine Hieropolitanus* ^ *discipulus Iohannis* ^ *carus in exotericis* ^ *id est in extremis* *quinque libris retulit* ^ *descripsit vero* ^ *evangelium* ^ *dictante Iohanne recte.*

Verum [Stuttg. recte verum Marcius] *Martion* haeticus cum ab eo fuisset [Stuttg. esset] *improbatus* eo quod contraria sentiebat, abiectus est a Iohanne. *is* vero scripta vel epistolas ad eum pertulerat a fratribus ^ qui in Ponto fuerunt ^ ^ ^ . *Explicit Argumentum.*

<sup>6</sup> 383-384 A. D. is the approximate date of Philastrius' compend of heresies. The *De Vir. Ill.* appeared about ten years later.

## Philastrius.

(Marcion) devictus et fugatus a beato Iohanne evangelista et a presbyteris de civitate Ephesi Romae hanc haeresim seminabat.<sup>7</sup>

Philastrius himself had previously said: "Marcion de civitate Sinope urbem Romam devenit." Harnack draws the logical inference that the archetype of our prologue is older.

This conclusion of Harnack probably represents about the limit of our attainment along the line of textual transmission. The prologue of Regin., closely paralleled by Stuttg. and more remotely by T2<sup>b</sup>, is probably derived from some copy of the Old Latin of 250—350 A. D. It represents an alternate to the Monarchian traced by Corsen to an at least equally remote age, but rests (in its first paragraph) upon Greek sources, and (in its second) is anti-Marcionite and not Monarchian.

Comparison of the three texts indicates that the scribe of T has used considerable freedom, especially in the way of addition, as we found to be the case in T2<sup>a</sup>. At the beginning he has linked on to T2<sup>a</sup> with a *hoc igitur* and added (probably from the Monarchian prologue which he had just copied as his Praefatio prima) *post apocalipsin scriptum*. *Manifestum* for *manifestatum* is probably a mere slip of the pen<sup>8</sup>, but Stuttg. in omitting here *et datum* betrays a consciousness of tautology, of which we must speak later. The next *plus* of T need not be an addition. *In Asia* is quite as likely to have been omitted by the archetype of Regin. and Stuttg. because it too narrowly limited the destination of the Gospel, as added by T. We must leave the question open. *Episcopus et [carus discipulus]* is probably T's addition, and *qui hoc . . . . subdictante conscripsit* is a manifest attempt to improve upon the awkward style of the parallel, while doing justice to its incomprehensible *recte*, which Stuttg. tries to connect with *verum*.

In the second paragraph *reprobatus* and *prelectus* (!) may be due to mere accident, like the corruption of the proper name

<sup>7</sup> The text and references are taken from Harnack, *Chron.* p. 308f. Corsen (*T. u. U.* xv., [1896] p. 115) gives the variants of the Stuttgart MS. (in the Royal Public Library, Stuttgart, fol. 44).

<sup>8</sup> *Manifestum* occurs just above, 1. 27.

(Archinon from Marcion, which has lost its initial M to the *verum* preceding). Burkitt surrenders the problem. Praelectio (*Vorlesung*) seems to him a 'cruel and unusual form of punishment', even for heretics. It may be, however, that T understands "Archinon" to have been first reproved (*reprobatus*) for his errors (eo quod contraria sentiset), and afterward "raised to special favor" (*praelectus*) by John. Philastrius is certainly nearer the original in rendering: *devictus* (ἀληγμένος) et *fugatus*. In this sentence accordingly Regin. has the most authentic form. Stuttg. attempts a slight grammatical improvement (*esset*), and T runs wild. In the next sentence *missus* is doubtless T's harmless addition, *erant* his grammatical improvement; while the appended phrase *fideles in Domino nostro* betrays its alien origin by its lack of agreement in case (*fratribus . . . fideles*); or else, if *fideles* (lis) be taken as a masc. sing., belongs to T's false conception of "Archinon." T 2<sup>b</sup> would seem thus to have the later, more arbitrary, form of the text, as well as the more transcriptionally corrupt. The Spanish scribe was at least as far as Candace's eunuch from understanding what he was reading.

Having thus established, so far as the data permit, the primitive text of this prologue, and having determined its date as not later than 383 A. D., we may give our attention with greater confidence to the questions now again brought before us by Clemen's proposal to regard its citation from Papias as authentic. This involves a review of the internal evidence, to which many critics have already given careful attention, and first of all of the judgement of Lightfoot, which Clemen takes as the basis of his own. It appears in Lightfoot's well known defense of the Fourth Gospel against the author of *Supernatural Religion*. After citing the prologue of Regin. in the form above given from the text of Card. Thomasius,<sup>9</sup> Lightfoot guards himself against seeming to rest weight upon "a passage which contains such obvious anachronisms and other inaccuracies," yet thinks the mention of Papias worthy of attention, and endeavors to account for it. In this he adopts in the main the conclusions

<sup>9</sup> Opp. I. p. 344, Romae 1747. Cf. Zahn's exacter transcription in *K. G.*, I., p. 898.

previously given by Westcott in his *History of the Canon* as follows:—<sup>10</sup>

"The text of the fragment is evidently corrupt, and it seems to have been made up of fragments imperfectly put together. But the main fact seems certainly to be based on direct [?] knowledge of Papias' book, which is rightly described (in . . . . quinque libris). The general tenor of the account is like that given in the Muratorian Canon."

The clumsy attachment of supplementary data by three successive *vero's* (*verum*) is doubtless the ground of Westcott's characterization of the prologue as composite. Lightfoot also remarks that it "seems to be made up of notices gathered from different sources." Lightfoot believes, however, that the reference to Papias can be better explained as an authentic extract, perverted "by clerical errors and mistranslations," than as mere legend growing out of "historical confusion." He even thinks the clause "descripsit vero evangelium" might also have an authentic basis. Papias might have written ἀπέγραφον ("they wrote down") and this have been read as first person sing., "I wrote down." He would account for the silence of Eusebius by supposing:—

"that Papias, having reported some saying of St. John on the authority of the elders, went on somewhat as follows: 'And this accords with what we find in his own Gospel, which he gave to the churches when he was still in the body' (*Ἐτι ἐν τῷ σώματι καθεστῶτος*)."

A mere obiter dictum of this kind in Papias Lightfoot thinks might have escaped the notice of Eusebius. The silence of Irenaeus, Hippolytus, and the other defenders of the apostolicity of the Gospel against Gaius and the Alogi he does not consider.

Zahn agrees with Westcott and Lightfoot in making the distinction between possibly authentic and plainly legendary material after the reference to the five books of Papias, dismissing politely but briefly Lightfoot's rather fanciful explanation of the statement that Papias was the amanuensis of the Gospel. In his *Forschungen*, vi. p. 127, n. 1 he characterizes this as "pure fable", pointing out that it does not even claim to be derived from Papias. It is drawn, however, from Greek sources; for it appears independently in a Greek prologue cited

<sup>10</sup> Ed. 6 (1889), p. 77, note 1.

by Corderius.<sup>11</sup> Lightfoot's inference of a Greek original from *aduc in corpore constituto* (= ἐπι ἐν τῷ σώματι καθεστῶτος) is thus confirmed as regards the portion relating to Papias. Zahn would extend the proof to that relating to Marcion, regarding *scripta vel epistolas* as a double rendering of *γράμματα*, and a *fratribus qui in Ponto fuerunt* as an awkward rendering of *παρὰ τῶν ἐν Πόντῳ ἀδελφῶν*. He leaves undecided the possibility suggested by Corssen of a derivation from Prochorus of the statement concerning the dictation of the Gospel to Papias. Prochorus' *Acts of John* twice aver (Zahn: *Acta Joannis* 155. 9 and 16) that John dictated the Gospel while standing (*καὶ κατὰ ἀκολούθιαν λοιπὸν ἔλεγεν πάντα οὕτως ἐστώς*). *Recte*, then, at which T and Stuttg. seem not unnaturally to have stumbled, would be a rendering of *ἐστώς*.

Harnack<sup>12</sup> agrees with Zahn that the prologue "is certainly translated from the Greek", and in rejecting as not even claiming authority the clause *descripsit vero* &c. He also agrees with his predecessors Lightfoot and Zahn, that the clause *id est in extremis* is a mere explanatory addition of the Latin translator attached to the corruption *exotericis* for *exegeticis*. But Harnack cannot admit the authenticity of the fragment in its present form, because to say that John's Gospel was "published and given out to the churches by John (ab Iohanne) while still in the body" would be nonsense; no one maintaining that it was done "by John" after his death, but only (as might seem to be implied in Jn. 21 24) that it had been done (by others) after his death. This would require Iohanne . . . . constituto, not *ab Iohanne . . . . constituto*. Harnack is therefore prepared to admit the possible authenticity of the utterance, on condition that the preposition *ab* be omitted. Even so, however, he would consider the silence of Eusebius to be "suspicious," Lightfoot to the contrary notwithstanding. For Eusebius, who reported what he found in Papias regarding Matthew and Mark, could hardly have passed it over.

Harnack's distinction is grammatically correct, but his in-

<sup>11</sup> *Catena in S. Joann.*: Antwerp. 1630. Cf. Harmer-Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, 1891, p. 524.

<sup>12</sup> *Chron.* p. 664 f.

ferences are unwarranted. We have no right to assume that the testimony had reference only to the date and not to the agency of the transaction. As Zahn points out, referring to Mt. 27:63 as a parallel, the use of the preposition does imply, by its assertion of John's personal agency, the disposition in some quarter to regard John's relation to the publication as indirect, or at least the possibility of so regarding it. Here, and here alone, is there ground for Westcott's remark (quite too sweeping in its form): "The general tenor of the account is like that given in the Muratorian Canon." Harnack's proposal to emend, accordingly, has value only as calling attention to the distinctive feature of the extract, if such it be.

In view of Lightfoot's wariness of attributing to Papias an utterance which could not fail to catch the eye of Eusebius, and the wariness of his successors, including even "defenders" such as Badham and Zahn, to adopt Lightfoot's conjecture in aid of the clause: *descripsit vero evangelium dictante Iohanne recte*, it is somewhat unexpected to find Clemen in 1912 adopting not only Lightfoot's explanation of how the clause really attributed to Papias might have been contained in the *Exegetes*, but even that of the "pure fable", as Zahn calls it, which follows. In Clemen's judgment "Papias might very well make a statement of this kind about the Gospel, without either Irenaeus or Eusebius having occasion to repeat it".<sup>13</sup>

In first mentioning Clemen's verdict we characterized the testimony he finds in our prologue as "outweighing in importance all the rest of the external evidence for the Fourth Gospel put together." This may seem at first sight an extravagant estimate. But consider what is alleged. Not mere *employment*, such as Eusebius credibly attributes to Papias in the case of the First Epistle, and such as the present writer concurs with many other critics in attributing to Papias with

<sup>13</sup> Diese Erklärung (Lightfoot's) ist wahrscheinlicher, als die von Corssen und Badham, die meinen, Papias sei durch eine Verwechselung mit Prochorus, dem die Auffassung eines Lebens des Johannes zugeschrieben wird, hier hereingekommen. Eine solche Angabe über das Evangelium konnte Papias auch sehr wohl machen, ohne daß Irenaeus und Eusebius Veranlassung hatten, sie zu wiederholen. *Entstehung des Johannes-evangeliums*, Halle, 1912, p. 375.

respect to *some form* of the Gospel also. We are dealing here with direct, downright assertion. Papias will have made explicit affirmation on the supreme point at issue in all the long controversy over the Johannine authorship of the Fourth Gospel which raged at Rome between 175 and 225 A.D. And however slight the value the modern critic may attribute to Papias' testimony, advocates such as Proclus, the *Muratorianum*, Irenaeus, and Hippolytus were very far from despising it. Can all these have overlooked the statement? The argument from the silence of Eusebius, bound by his promise to relate all that he found in the earliest writers concerning the origin of the Gospels, and more than willing to relate anything confirmatory of the Johannine authorship, is so strong as to make Harnack reject the statement *in toto* and even Lightfoot and Zahn hesitate to appeal to it, even after conjectural emendation. And wholly independent of Eusebius' silence is the silence of all the participants in the Alogistic controversy, not one of whom on either side betrays the consciousness that a close disciple of John (as Irenaeus esteems him) had put the whole question out of court by his explicit and authoritative statement.

If, then, our prologue really contains an authentic testimony of Papias to the Fourth Gospel its importance even for our own time cannot be minimized. It will imply the currency in Asia early in the second century of this Gospel, *including the appendix* with its covert suggestion of Johannine authorship (21 19-24). And this suggestion, however non-committal, has always proved plain *enough* for the purpose in view. *If* this is Papias' testimony regarding the Fourth Gospel the *ab Iohanne* will have to be understood with reference to Jn. 21 24, as Zahn says. Clemen will find few converts even among moderns to his idea that Papias' testimony is a *quantité négligeable*. But it is not on this ground that we deny the possibility of such a statement having stood in the *Exegetes*. The difficulty is first and foremost (1) that neither Papias nor any of his contemporaries, down to and inclusive of Justin Martyr, treat the Fourth Gospel with anything approaching the respect they pay to Gospels esteemed apostolic, or betray

in any manner the idea of its authorship which forms the culminating statement of the appendix. But over and above this is (2) the importance which testimony such as this from Papias would have had to defenders such as Irenaeus, Proclus, Hippolytus, and the author of the *Muratorianum*. That importance is so great that we cannot agree with Clemen that neither these nor Eusebius "would have occasion to repeat it."

We have, then, a dead-lock between those who think it possible that the statement reported by our prologue or something like it could have stood in the *Exegetes*, and those who think it impossible. A new way must be struck out. But first of all let us define such reasonable concession as may properly be expected from each side. On the one side *something* of this nature must have stood in Papias. At least the clause which actually purports to quote his *Exegetes* cannot be a pure figment of the imagination. Back of the Latin transcribers, whose mutilation of the title of Papias' book proves their ignorance of it, is some Greek prologue or subscription so early as to be well within the period when the battle over the authorship of the writings attributed to John (a controversy carried on in Greek) was still a recent thing, and Papias was far from unknown. It must have contained a statement of his capable of transformation into that of our Prologue.

Reciprocally the difficulty must also be admitted—to a certain extent it *is* admitted—of accounting for the silence of all the early defenders of the Gospel, if Papias' testimony had anything like the form proposed by modern defenders. Is it possible to find an explanation which solves both difficulties together? Closer scrutiny of the text is our only resource.

The *composite* character of our prologue is the characteristic most universally insisted upon by all who attach any value to it whatever. Lightfoot and Clemen are alone in the attempt to trace the clause "descripsit vero evangelium dictante Iohanne recte" to anything in Papias; and even they regard it as only a mistaken inference. It was probably part of the Greek argumentum, but whether an element of its original form, or a later attachment would be hard to say. The looseness of

the connection (vero) favors the latter. But did the Greek argumentum include the second, anti-Marcionite paragraph?

This paragraph with its “anachronisms and other inaccuracies” about Marcion and John is naturally rejected by all critics as worthless. Still we may reasonably be asked for some possible explanation of its origin before we reject it. As affording such a possibility I have two parallels to submit, the first of which relates to the *scriptum vel epistolas*—

Regin.

Verum Martion  
haereticus . . . . ab-  
iectus est a Iohanne.  
Is vero scripta vel  
epistolas ad eum  
pertulerat a fratri-  
bus qui in Ponto  
fuerunt.

Tert. *Adv. Marcion* iv, 3. 4.

Sed enim Marcion *nactus epistulam* . . . . commiti-  
tur ad destruendum statum eorum evangeliorum  
quae propria et sub apostolorum nomine (i. e. John  
and Matthew) eduntur . . . et pecuniam in primo  
calore fidei catholicae ecclesiae contulit, *projectam*  
*mox cum ipso*, postquam in haeresim . . . . descivit.  
Quid nunc si negaverint Marcionitae primam apud  
nos fidem eius *adversus epistulam quoque ipsius*?  
Quid si nec *epistulam* agnoverint?

The passage from Tertullian with its perplexing reference to “letters” which Marcion had brought with him from Pontus, when he fell into heresy and was “cast out” from the church together with his money, seems to me a *possible* source for the reference of our prologue. It is true that Tertullian is referring to two different letters, one our own Galatians (in Marcion’s recension), the other apparently a composition of Marcion’s own, and that he clearly describes the former (in words above indicated by ...) as “*epistulam Pauli ad Galatas etiam ipsos apostolos suggillantis*”. But a medieval scribe may be forgiven for not recognizing our canonical Epistle when described as one which Marcion had “happened upon”, and one wherein Paul “reviled (literally ‘smote in the eye’) the very apostles themselves”. That he should be at a loss regarding a document described in such extraordinary terms and finding, immediately after, Tertullian proceeding to speak of a letter of Marcion’s own, not otherwise known, should exhibit his perplexity in the dubious phrase *scriptum* (*scripta*) *vel epistolas*, seems a possible explanation of the curious final clause of our prologue. Zahn’s proposal to regard *scripta* *vel epistolas* as a double rendering of the very common term *γράμματα* will then be superfluous.

Greater uncertainty attends the clause preceding. Here two questions arise: (1) How comes the discomfiture of Marcion to be attributed to *John*? (2) Why is his heresy referred to in such curiously mild terms as "eo quod contraria sentiebat" (var. 1. *sentiset*)? Such mildness almost excuses T's false notion of a conversion of the heretic from his errors.

A further parallel from the same context of Tertullian may afford some light. As regards (1) we observe that in the context of the passage just cited it is primarily the Gospel of John which Tertullian is defending against Marcion. Luke, he maintains, must be dependent on "John and Matthew, who first instil faith, whilst Luke and Mark renew it afterward". Paul, Luke's master, says Tertullian, sought correction of *his* gospel from the 'Pillars'; but Marcion rejects these primary, apostolic sources, and censured even the apostles themselves, in favor of a secondary non-apostolic Gospel, which he alters to suit his own ideas. Tertullian had just before (III, 8) appealed to II Jn. 7 as proof that (prophetically) the Apostle John had on the contrary censured Marcion as an 'Anti-Christ'.

As regards question (2) the phrase *improbare* (or, *reprobare*) *quia contraria sentiebat* is quite Tertullianesque, and is repeatedly applied (in substance) to Marcion's arbitrary rejection of the elements of the catholic canon.<sup>14</sup> We encounter it in the very next paragraph but one of the *Adv. Marcion.* (iv. 6). Only, here the sense is the opposite. *Marcion's* rejections were of "everything that was contrary to his own opinion." I cannot resist the impression that so arbitrary a reason for radical action must originally have been attributed to the heretic rather than to the Apostle. I therefore suggest with all due reserve that the original participle may have been active and not passive, *reprobans* (var. *improbans*), not *reprobatus*. Motives similar to those acknowledged in the *Tikkunê Sopherim*, would easily account for the change. If scribes could alter Gen. 18 22 from "The Lord yet stood before Abraham" to "Abraham yet stood before the Lord," because it was more respectful, an original *reprobans* in the clause *Verum Marcion haereticus*

<sup>14</sup> E. g. *De Carn.* 2; *Praescr.* 30.

reprobans (sc. evang. Ioannis) eo quod contraria sentiebat, abjectus est a Iohanne, might be changed to reprobatus. *Un-*changed the clause would express Tertullian's essential meaning very tersely and epigrammatically: Marcion the heretic, who rejects John's Gospel merely because it does not agree with his own opinion, has himself been rejected by John (*i. e.* in his Epistle).

Tertullian's mention of Marcion's "letters" and declaration that the presumption of the heretic in rejecting John is more than offset by John's (prophetic) rejection of *him*, are adduced as *possibly* accounting for the "fabulous" and "anachronistic" second paragraph of the prologue. The coincidences may be illusive. If so, we can only follow our predecessors in dropping the whole paragraph into the general limbo of medieval fable. I must leave also to better linguists than myself the question whether this paragraph affords any real evidence of translation from the Greek. In any event the separation of it from the statements relating to Papias, insisted on by all who maintain the value of these, is amply justified.

We come thus at last to the real point of burning interest, the question what authority—if any—lies back of the statement that Papias declared the Fourth Gospel to have been given out "by John during his life-time."

Our first question is of necessity as to the meaning. Does *manifestatum* (var. *manifestum*) mean "published"? Lightfoot so renders it, and it seems to be taken in this sense by Stuttg., which thereupon cancels *et datum*; for the two additional words will then be superfluous. But so far as I am able to learn there is no other example known where *manifestare* takes the place of *edere*. It is the proper synonym of 'revelare' (*ἀποκαλύπτειν*), and applies to things hidden and 'brought to light'. As applied to a canonical book the natural sense would be "revealed by God", and it is possible that the scribes of Regin. and T so understood it. But could Papias so write? Few, I think, will regard it as probable that he spoke of John's Gospel as "revealed," while employing ordinary terms (*συνέγραψε*, *ἔγραψε*) for Matthew and Mark. But since it is universally recognized that this part of the prologue at least has

been translated from the Greek, let us retranslate. Retranslation makes it doubly difficult to take the sense "was published"; for it will anticipate the succeeding words: *et datum est ecclesiis* (T: + *Asiae*). So far as I can see the translation must run: *ἐξεδόθη καὶ ἐδόθη*, the very tautology in aggravated form which Stuttg. seeks to avoid by dropping *et datum*. No alternative, then, remains but to take the ordinary, natural sense of manifestare = revelare, the common equivalent of *ἀποκαλύπτειν* in ecclesiastical Latin. We shall then render: *ἀπεκαλύφθη καὶ ἐξεδόθη ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις (ταῖς ἐν Ἀσίᾳ)*. Is not the single solution of our two-fold difficulty already apparent? This statement cannot refer to the Gospel. It can only refer to the *Revelation* of John. If attached as a note in any MS. it must have stood between the two, and while intended as an epilogue to *Revelation*, was transcribed as a prologue to the *Gospel*.<sup>15</sup>

The superscription of *Revelation* has become part of our text. It runs: "The *Revelation* of Jesus Christ which God gave unto him to show unto his servants, and he sent it by his angel unto his servant John." The text proper proceeds: "John to the seven churches which are in Asia." The corresponding statement suitable for an epilogue would be precisely in the form of our prologue. Now as the Monarchian prologues and T inform us, *Revelation* was understood to have been written first, and in the 'Instrumentum Iohanneum' it may have often stood before the *Gospel*. Even if always in the other order, the two writings were certainly in some texts adjacent, so that a note intended as a suffix to the one might easily be mistaken for a prefix to the other, or conversely.

Is there then any intrinsic improbability that Papias should have testified that the *Apocalypse* was "revealed" to John and given out by him to the churches (of Asia)? Quite the contrary. Difficult or impossible as such a supposition would be regarding the *Gospel*, regarding *Revelation* it not only corre-

<sup>15</sup> A similar supposition has been made to account for the curious title *πρὸς πάρθον* attached in some MSS. to the *Epistles of John*. It has been understood as a corruption of *πρὸς παρθένον*, and the latter accounted for as the superscription of *Second Jn.* (II Jn. 1) taken by mistake as a subscript to *First John*.

sponds to the statements of Justin and Irenaeus, both of whom used Papias, but is (in substance) explicitly attested by Andreas of Caesarea, who states in so many words that Papias testified to the *ἀξιόπιστον* of Revelation. Moreover this testimony of Papias is most likely to have stood in the latter part of his *Exegetes*, where the writer especially dealt with eschatology, if we may judge from the extracts in Irenaeus. Our prologue, it is true, speaks only of the "five" books of Papias, but in a reference the numeral *ε* is more likely to have been originally intended as ordinal than cardinal.

But the "distinctive feature" of the statement is that John's action was "while yet in the body" (*ἔτι ἐν σώματι καθεστῶτος*). Why add this? Is not Zahn justified in saying that this can only be a denial of such posthumous editing as seems to be suggested by Jn. 21:24? Does it not recall the Muratorian Canon? We will admit that it does. We will further grant to Zahn against Harnack that the clause is by no means otiose, but contains the very kernel of the contention. Still it may apply quite as well to Revelation as to the Gospel. Dispute about the boldly asserted authorship of Revelation antedates dispute about the cautiously suggested claims of the Gospel. Its defenders were Papias, Justin, and Melito, the latest writing about 168 A. D. And in both cases the obstacle was the same. In order to maintain the authenticity of either book some account would have to be taken of the primitive tradition, corroborated by Mk. 10:35-40, and by early calendars of martyrdoms, that "John the son of Zebedee was killed by the Jews"; for the evidence is now too strong to be resisted that Papias himself reported this tradition. The form of statement, *ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰουδαίων*, probably implied *originally* (i. e. in the mouth of Papias' informants, Palestinian "elders", as I take it, among whom both the Apostle and his namesake the Elder John had lived) a martyrdom while "the Jews" were still a political body. At all events some of the early defenders of Revelation might naturally be expected to adopt this early date for John's martyrdom—in point of fact we know that some did. The authenticity (*ἀξιόπιστον*) of the book would then require either (1) a very early date, or else (2) some theory

of posthumous publication. The former course (1) is actually taken by the *Muratorianum*, which makes the seven letters of John to the churches of Asia *precede* the letters of Paul.<sup>16</sup> This is in line with the multitude of later authorities beginning with Tertullian, who date the imprisonment and release of John under Claudius and Nero (!) though whether through pure blunder, or in part because of traditions of John's early martyrdom, we cannot say. The latter course (2) would be naturally suggested by the very nature and structure of the book, which every Greek reader would inevitably recognize as a translation in at least its central portion, even if he did not recognize that this central mass is utterly unrelated to the introductory letters to the churches of Asia, ec. 1-3, and the epilogue 22 8-21. Nevertheless evidence of actual recourse to such a theory of posthumous authorship, patent as it is in Jn. 21 19-24 with respect to the Gospel, is lacking in respect to Revelation.

Fortunately it is not needed. What is required to account for the assertion that John saw the vision and gave it out to the churches to which it was addressed "while yet in the body" is not the actuality but only the *potentiality* of the converse proposition. And this, as we have seen, is present in the very form and phraseology of the book which fairly invites the supposition that its vaguely defined sojourn of John in Patmos was not in the body but only "in the Spirit" (1 10).

Papias, however, while accepting the martyrdom, and yet certainly a defender of Revelation, can have followed neither of the two harmonistic expedients thus far suggested. He cannot have dated Revelation early; for we have the definite statement in Irenaeus that "the vision was seen almost in our own time, in the end of the reign of Domitian,"<sup>17</sup> a statement quite generally (and very reasonably) regarded as derived from Papias himself; for it not only occurs in the midst of the "traditions of the elders" usually admitted to be drawn from Papias, but is given as from "the men who saw John face to

<sup>16</sup> Paulus, sequens praedecessoris sui Iohannis ordinem, nonnisi nominatim septem ecclesiis scribat.

<sup>17</sup> *Haer.* V. xxx, 3.

face." Moreover it would be far more natural for Papias than for Irenaeus to use the phrase "almost in our own time" of a date *ca.* 93-96 A. D. But even were direct dependence here not admitted, Irenaeus cannot have been on this point at odds with his own chief authority. For not only does this date (93-95 A. D.) coincide with the best results of modern criticism,<sup>18</sup> it coincides also with that given by Epiphanius, where (in dependence on Hippolytus) he declares that the time of writing was "ninety-three years after the Lord's conception".<sup>19</sup> Obviously the book was (rightly) believed in the circles dependent on Papias to have come into circulation at Ephesus about 93-96 A. D.<sup>20</sup> If, on the other hand, Papias had in any way advocated an indirect relation of Revelation to the Apostle, Dionysius and Eusebius would surely have seized upon it. We can only accept at its full value the testimony of Andreas that Papias vouched for its *ἀξιόπιστον*; and if so the only possible reconciliation with his tradition that "John was killed by the Jews" was to hold that the Apostle's fate overtook him *after his return* from Patmos (to Palestine). In other words Papias cannot have allowed that the residence of John in Patmos was any such vague and shadowy one as was suggested by the apocalyptic phraseology and the prevailing ignorance regarding it; neither could he regard John's letters to the seven churches as preceding Paul's. He held (in language very familiar to our ears) that John had "survived until the times of Trajan," thus making room for the authenticity of Revelation. Such a conviction regarding the origin of this much-disputed but to Papias most congenial book, and based upon it, would be most naturally expressed by a declaration that it had been "revealed and given out to the churches (of Asia) by John himself, while yet in the body." An utterance of this kind regarding *Revelation* we have every reason for crediting to Papias, in spite of the silence of opponents of the book such as Eusebius.

<sup>18</sup> E. g. Harnack, *Chron.* gives 93-96 A. D.

<sup>19</sup> *Haer.* li. 33 For *ἀνάηψεν* read *σύλληψεν*. Cf. Chapman, *J. T. S.* July 1907, p. 603, and *John the Presbyter*, 1911, p. 57, note.

<sup>20</sup> References like Rev. 2:13 might furnish easy clews.

On the other hand to make Papias a participant in the controversies which arose as to the authorship of the *Gospel* is an anachronism. His postdating of the martyrdom and endorsement of the stay in Patmos until the time of Trajan undoubtedly paved the way for later defenders. But the bringing of John from Patmos to *Ephesus* is a later development insupposable in Papias. The first trace of it is in the Leucian *Acts of John* (ca. 175). The further prolongation of the Apostle's residence there to admit the writing of the Gospel (post Apocalypsim scriptum), with the necessary rationalizing away of the martyrdom into mere suffering (exile, bath of oil, poison cup, &c.) belong to the still later period of controversy inaugurated (it would seem) by the appendix.

But I have gone too far and too fast. Mere conjecture, I may well be reminded, is a drug in the market. And what I have offered thus far is only conjecture. Let me return to the prologue, which we felt obliged to render: ἀπεκαλύψθη καὶ ἐξεδόθη ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις (τῆς Ἀσίας) ὑπὸ Ἰωάννου ἐπὶ ἐν σώματι καθεστῶτος. We declared that if from Papias, this statement could only apply to Revelation and not to the Gospel. The assertion will certainly be challenged. We shall be asked whether any textual evidence exists to support it. Textual evidence for Revelation, I need not say, is scanty, but I will acknowledge that if MSS. once circulated having a subscription such as I have supposed to be the real source of our prologue, some trace of the note might be expected to survive in some quarter; and it is here that I must invoke the aid of critics having wider access than I to the textual sources.

Until the appearance of the long deferred volume of W-W containing the Latin text of Revelation with its various prologues and subscriptions, I fear I have very little to present. Yet that little contains at all events the distinctive feature, the curious declaration, explicable only from the conflict of the traditions of John's authorship with the preëxisting traditions of his death, that the work belonged to "his life-time." On the last page of Tischendorf's *Editio Major*, among the subscriptions to *Revelation*, will be found the following, taken, it appears, from the London polyglot:

*“Aeth. Hic finita est visio Iohannis Abucalamis. Amen. Quod est dictum: quam vidit in vita sua, visio: et scripta fuit a beato Iohanne evangelista dei eius.”*

I am indebted to my colleague Professor C. C. Torrey for a more accurate rendering of the Ethiopic, which, as the monstrosity Abucalamis (i. e. Apocalypsis) shows, is based upon the Arabic. Professor Torrey renders as follows: “Here is ended the vision of John, the Apocalypse, Amen. That is to say, that vision *which he saw in his life-time*. And it was written by the blessed John the evangelist of God” (i. e. *θεολόγος*). —Did it occur to some one independently to say of this book as well as of the Gospel that it was the product of John’s life-time and not a posthumous work? Or are we really face to face again with the old dictum of Papias, this time applied as he meant it—to Revelation?

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## The Stems **dûm** and **damám** in Hebrew

GEORGE V. SCHICK

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY

1.—A comparison of the translations which the leading Hebrew dictionaries give for the stem **דָמָם** shows that they unanimously assign to it the meaning *to be silent*. Thus Gesenius' *Thesaurus* (1835-53) offers for **דָמָם**:—(1) *to be silent*;—(2) *to be stupefied*;—(3) *to be still, cease*;—(4) *to be silenced*, i. e. through destruction and death. Fürst-Ryssel, *Heb. u. chald. Wörterb. über d. A. T.*<sup>3</sup> (1876), gives:—(1) *to be silent, trust quietly, be resigned, stand still*;—(2) *to stop, be separated, be lonely*. Siegfried-Stade, *Hebr. Wörterb. z. A. T.* (1893), has:—(1) *to become silent, perish*;—(2) *to keep quiet*;—(3) *to stand still*. Brown-Driver-Briggs, *A Hebr. and Engl. Lex. of the O. T.* (1906), assumes two stems **דָמָם** I:—*to be or grow dumb, silent, still*; to **דָמָם** II the meaning *to wail* is tentatively assigned as suggested by Fried. Delitzsch in Baer's *Ezechiel* (1884), p. XI, and in *Prolegomena* (1886), p. 64; cf. also Zimmern, *Busspsalmen*, p. 30. Gesenius' *Handw.* (1910) again mentions but one stem **דָמָם**:—(1) *to become rigid from terror, become silent, be silent*;—(2) *to keep still, be inactive, give up all activity*;—(3) *to be destroyed*. König, *Hebr. u. Aram. Wörterb. z. A. T.* (1910) develops the meaning of **דָמָם**:—(1) *to become silent, sometimes meant hyperbolically: to be less loud in one's utterances*;—(2) *by metonymy: (a) to become rigid (from terror); (b) to be destroyed*;—(3) *by synecdoche: to be inactive in general*,

*to cease.* As a byform of **דָמַם**, *to be silent*, all these dictionaries quote the stem **דָמַד**.

2.—In a number of passages the assumed original meaning of **דָמַם** with its various developments seems to suit the context well enough. In others this does not at all appear to be the case, and the ancient translators of the O. T., with the single exception of the extremely literal Aquila, modified their translations of **דָמַם** as the general sense of the passage in which it occurred seemed to require, and in some instances they clearly ventured a guess as to the meaning of this verb. Modern scholars have felt the difficulty no less, and therefore they have suggested roots and meanings for forms usually assigned to **דָמַם** which differed from the traditional view. Thus Prof. Paul Haupt, in a paper entitled *Some Assyrian Etymologies*, AJSL 26, 4 ff.<sup>1</sup>, advances the theory that there is no stem **דָמַם** in Hebrew which denotes *to be silent*. He insists that the majority of passages in which this verb is supposed to occur are mistranslated. The forms thus far derived from **דָמַם**, *to be silent*, must rather be assigned (1) to **דָמַד**, *to abide, wait*; and (2) to **דָמַד**, *to mutter*. This same theory was briefly stated in the closing paragraph of his article *Die Posaunen von Jericho*, WZKM 23, 355 ff. Instances where forms of stems **יְיַע** have been confused with forms of stems **יְיַע** are by no means unheard of. Thus Haupt, *Nahum*, p. 44, says, *All the forms of the alleged stem **הָמַה** are forms of **יְהַ***; cf. Haupt, *Micah*, p. 10 (AJSL 26, 237), and AJSL 24, 170.

3.—Haupt, however, was partly anticipated by J. D. Michaelis who believed in the existence of a stem **יְדַ**, *stare, persistere*, in Hebrew as early as 1792, cf. his *Supplementa ad Lexica Hebraica*, p. 417. He compares it with Arab. **يَدِمْ**, **يَدِمْ**, and seems to consider it a *ἀπαξ λεγόμενον*, occurring Jos. 10 12 13, where all the Ancient Versions, Aquila alone excepted, translate **דָם** and **יְדַם** by *to stand still or halt*. Haupt believes that **דָם** occurs much more frequently, and in a private communication to the editor of Gesenius' *Handw.*<sup>15</sup>, published in this work s. v. **דָמַם**, enumerates ten passages in which **דָמַם**, *to speak*

<sup>1</sup> For abbreviations see this JOURNAL vol. 29 112, and the references quoted there.

softly or to lament, is found, and adds that all the other passages usually quoted under דָמָם contain forms of דָמָם (= دَامُ, to last, abide, wait, become rigid). Haupt thus differs with other Hebrew scholars inasmuch as he entirely eliminates a stem דָמָם, to be silent.

4.—דָמָם is a poetic synonym of the more prosaic עָמַד, compare Jos. 10 12 13<sup>a</sup> with 10 13<sup>b</sup>; cf. § 13. דָמָם is, of course, akin to Arab. يَدَمُ or يَدُومُ, دَامُ, as already stated by J. D. Michaelis. In Ethiopic ደመመ, ተደመ, and ተተደመመ mean to be stupefied, astonished; but the original meaning is to be made stationary, motionless, rigid = to be petrified (cf. יְדָמוּ כָּבֵן, Ex. 15 16, § 28) by astonishment (አደመመ, to stupefy, originally to cause to be rigid), so that ደመመ is not identical with Heb. דָמָם, but must rather be compared with דָמָם, to stay. For stems עַי in Ethiopic which appear as עַי-stems in the other Semitic tongues cf. Dillmann, *Ethiopic Gram.*, § 67<sup>b</sup>. In the same way דָמָם in post-Bibl. Heb. is equivalent to Bibl. דָמָם. Cf. Ex. R. s. 29, end, הָרְדִים כָּל הָעוֹלָם stand still; Gen. R. s. 97, שְׁהָוָא מְדִמִּים וּכ' who will bring to a standstill; and the noun דָמָם, standstill, Sabb. 118<sup>b</sup>; Ber. 29<sup>b</sup>; and often. דָמִים denotes to be stupefied; cf. Talm. Y., Terumoth, I, 40<sup>a</sup>, מְדִמִּים, one who is overcome by wine; and Cant. R. to III, 4, הָוָא מְדִמִּים כָּל הָהָוָא לִילָה, he lay in a stupor the whole night. In Targ. Y. II, Ex. 15 16 אַיְדִמִּים (read יְדִמִּים = Heb. יְדָמוּ).

5.—With partial assimilation of the ד to the preceding ד the stem דָמָם appears as דָן (cf. דָשָׁן = Arab. سَمَد); see ZDMG 63, 515 and GB<sup>15</sup> s. v. דָן. It occurs but once, in the form יְדָן (= ɻadān, ɻadām, Arab. يَدَمُ) in the story of the sons of God and the daughters of men, preceding the account of the deluge, Gen 6 3. יְדָן is an intransitive impf. like יְבֹזָא (GK, § 72, h). AV renders, *The Lord said, My spirit shall not always strive with man*; but the Ancient Versions translate remain: ḥ kataμείνη, S. تَدَعُّد, I. permanebit, C° יְדָן here apparently stands for יְזָם like dān, idān, for dāma, ɻadāmu in the Arab. dialect of Egypt; cf. also دَيْنَة, incessant rain, for دَيْمَة. See AJSL 26, 4 and WZKM 23, 365. With דָן may be connected the noun אַדְן, pedestal (GB<sup>15</sup>, 11<sup>b</sup>). It appears in

Assyr. as *adattu* = *adamtu*. The שׁ may be secondary like the ה in **הַדָּם**, *footstool*, from the same root as **דָם**. Cocceius, quoted by J. D. Michaelis, *Suppl. ad Lexica Heb.*, p. 107, had already recognized this and translated **הַדָּם רְגִלִּים** by *requiem pedum, foot-rest*. **הַדָּם** may be compared with our *stand*, cf. AJSL 26, 22, n. 36. In the same way Ethiopic **ጥርጋም**, = **ጥርጋም**, may be connected with the root **דָם**. Arab. **دَنْ** may also be derived from this root, **مَدْ** becoming **مَدْنَ** by partial assimilation. The IV. form **أَدَنْ** = **اقَامْ**, *to stay, remain*.

6.—The stem **דָמָם**, *to moan*, must be compared with Assyrian *damâmu*, to weep, lament, sigh (cf. references above, § 1, under **דָמָם** II in BDB). The noun *dumâmu*, wildcat, literally, *the howling or muttering one* (cf. Hommel, *Die Namen der Säugetiere bei den Südsemitischen Völkern*, p. 119), and Ethiopic **ዶመት**, *cat*, must be connected with this stem. Arab. **مَمْ** in the sense of *cat*, according to Dozy, *Supplément aux dictionnaires arabes*, I, 459, is an Ethiopic loanword; cf. Nöldeke, *Neue Beiträge zur sem. Sprachwiss.* (1910), p. 58, and Hahn, *Kulturpflanzen u. Haustiere* (1894), p. 448. Domesticated cats are chiefly of African origin and were unknown to the Arabs before the time of Mohammed; cf. Hommel, *Säugetiere*, pp. 319, 355, 385. The stem **דָמָם** then, according to Haupt, WZKM 23, 365, may be denominative, and may originally have meant *to cry like a cat, to mewl, to miau*; and then *to moan, especially, to moan softly, to whisper, to mutter*. In Arab. this stem appears in **مَدِمَمْ**, *to snarl, talk rudely or angrily, denounce, abuse*, and, with partial assimilation of the מ to the מ, in **مَدْنَ**, *to hum or buzz*.

7.—In the Talmud **דָמָם**, *to whisper*, occurs Taan. 20a. **דָמָמוֹ הַרוֹחוֹת**, *the winds whisper, rustle*; cf. **דָמָמָה**, Ps. 107 29, § 58 (AJSL 26, 5). In Ber. 19 a **יֹשֵׁב וְדָמָם** may mean, *sit and whisper*. The pt. pass. **דָמָמָה**, Lam. R. to I, 17, should be translated *sighing*. Beside **דָמָם** there is found in post-Bibl. Heb. a byform **דָם** (contrast **הַדָּמִים** from **דָם** = **דָם**, § 5), *to whisper, speak in a low voice, spread an evil report; then to be suspected, notorious*. So Yeb. 52 a, **מִידָם הוּא זִים מַחְמָתִיה**, *he*

*was suspected of illicit relations with his mother-in-law*; Kidd. 12 b, **דִּימָא** חַמְתִּיהִ מִנִּיהִ, *his mother-in-law was suspected*. **הַזְמָה** (cf. **הַדְבָּה**, § 8), Nidd. 66 a, denotes an *evil report*; but Sot. 27 a and Gitt. 69 b a *woman of ill-repute*. The latter passage speaks of a **דָוָמָה בַת דָוָמָה**, *an ill-reputed daughter of an ill-reputed mother*. Like **הַזְמָה**, so also **דָמָם**, M. Kat. 18 b; Yeb. 25 a, **דָוָמָה**, and **דָמוֹת** **דָמָמָת** mean *whisper, evil report, gossip*.

8.—Another byform of **דָמָם**, *to whisper*, may be the verb **דָבַב**, *to whisper, speak evil, be hostile*. For the interchange of **ב** and **מ** see ZA 2, 268. In Assyr. *dabâbu*, to speak, frequently means *to speak secretly against, plan, plot, intrigue*. The combination **bêl dabâbi** denotes an accuser, enemy, and has passed into Syriac as **כְּגָדְלָהָחָל** = Talm. **בָּעֵל דָבָב**. In Arab. we find **أَدَبَ**, *to spread slander*, with the noun **أَدَبُوب**, *slanderer*. **רַבָּה**, *slander, calumny*, in the Talmud denotes also *an ill-reputed woman*; cf. **הַזְמָה** above. From the same root as **דָמָם** may be derived the verb **דָמָע**, *to weep*. Thus its original meaning would be *to moan*. *To weep* formerly meant not only *to shed tears*, but *to wail, lament*. Compare *to cry* = *to shed tears*. In a number of cases **י** is thus found to be a secondary addition to the root; cf. AJSL 23, 245. 252, and Lagarde, *Symmicta*, p. 121 ff., *On the Classification of Semitic Roots*. Thus **מַגְבֵּעַ** = **קָרַע**; **בַּעַקְעַ** = **קָרַע** etc.

9.—In the §§ now following are discussed all the O. T. passages in which occur forms of **דָוָם**, *to stay*, or of **דָמָם**, *to mutter*, or their byforms and derivatives.

10.—In the poetical quotation Jos. 10 12 13 the verb **דָוָם** is found twice. For a metrical arrangement of the couplet see AJSL 26, 4. — AV renders **דָוָם** and **יָדָם** correctly *stand still* and *stood still*, respectively, following the Ancient Versions: **וְστήτω—εστηη**, **וְאָוִרֵיךְ—אָוִרֵיךְ**, **וְחָדְדוּ—חָדְדוּ**, **I ne mo-vearis—steterunt**. 'A alone, oddly though consistently, even here employs *σιώπα*. Modern translators who offer correctly *to halt, stand still*, develop this meaning from **דָמָם**, *to be silent*, which is possible theoretically, but does not seem necessary. It is simpler and more satisfactory to derive **דָוָם** and **יָדָם** from **דָוָם**, *to stay*, as J. D. Michaelis did.

11.—1 Sam. 14 relates how Saul, leading the Israelites, waged war against the Philistines. While he tarries in the uttermost parts of Gibeah, Jonathan plans to go over to the Philistines' garrison at Michmash. As he and his armorbearer draw near to the camp of the enemy, Jonathan is undecided whether to attack or to wait until the Philistines would open hostilities. He finally says to his companion, v. 9: **אִם כִּי יֹאמְרוּ אֲלֵינוּ דָמוֹ** *If they say thus unto us, Halt until we come to you; then we will stay in our place and not go up unto them.*—AV correctly renders **דָמוֹ** by *tarry*, following **אָוַרְיכָנוּ**, and **אָמַנְתָּ**. **וְ** has *ἀπόστητε*, *stand aloof*, and **אָמַדְתָּ**. The last, frequently employed by **וְ** for forms of **דָם** or **דָמָם** in the Hebrew text, leaves it undecided whether the translator believed **דָמוֹ** to mean *to be silent* or *to be motionless*. **מָעֵמָה** may denote either, and Heb. **שְׁקָטָם** may be a transposition of **שְׁתָקָם**, with **ט** for **ת** owing to the preceding **ת**. **וְ** also here has *σωπήσατε*, although the context clearly shows that **דָמוֹ** and **עַמְדָנוּ** are synonyms. Modern commentators all translate **דָמוֹ** correctly by *halt* or *stand still*.

12.—For Jer. 8 14 where **דָם** occurs in the same meaning as in the preceding passages see § 35.

13.—**דָם** in the sense *to stay, remain*, is found in the Song of Hannah, 1 Sam. 2. A detailed discussion of the poem and a reconstruction of the Heb. text, together with a translation, is published by Haupt ZDMG 58, 620 ff.; cf. also AJSL 20, 168, n. 49. V. 9<sup>a</sup>, the first line of the seventh couplet may be translated: He watches the feet of His faithful, while the wicked remain in darkness.

In **וְ** v. 9 is omitted entirely; **וְ** in its paraphrase translates **יִתְדַּנוּ יִדְמָוּ** by *shall be judged*; **וְ** offers **مְעַלְמָה**, **וְ** *conticescent*. Modern commentators render **יִדְמָוּ** by *to be dumb*, deriving it from **דָמָם**, *to be silent*. However, it seems preferable to point **יִדְמָוּ**, from **דָם**, which would then be equivalent to Arab. **أَوْلَمْكَ أَحَبَّابَ النَّارِ**; cf. Coranic passages like 2, 37: **أَوْلَمْكَ فِيهَا خَالِدُونَ**.

14.—In Jer. 47 6<sup>b</sup> **דָם** is found together with **רָגַע**, *to rest*. The sword of JHVH is addressed:

הַאֲסֵפִי אֶל תַּעֲרֵךְ      הַרְגֵּשִׁי וְרַמִּי:

Enclose thyself in thy sheath,      rest and stay

For **תַּעֲרֵךְ** has, **תַּחֲנוֹן** **אֶל**, 'A σιώπησον I *sile*. 6. *καὶ ἐπάρθητι*, seems to have read **רַמִּי**. Graf and Duhm translate *sei still*, Giesebrécht, *raste*, deriving the form from **דָּמָם**. With raphe over the **מ** it may better be explained as an intr. impv. Q. of **דָּמָם**, *to stay*.

15.—In Job 31 33 **דָּמָם** means *to stay in*. Job defends himself against the charges of his friends and says, v. 33<sup>a</sup> + 34<sup>b</sup>:

אָבִיכְפּוּתִי בְּאָדָם פְּשֻׁעִי      וְאָדָם לֹא אָצַא פָּתָחָה:

If I concealed my sins among men,  
staying in and not going out.

RT has **בְּאָדָם**, but with nine MSS is preferable. In v. 34<sup>b</sup> the Versions offer some difficulties. **תְּ****י** follow RT closely, and **וְשַׁתְּקִיתְתָּא** *et non magis tacui*, nec *egressus sum ostium*. **ס** pointed the Heb. **לֹא אָצַא פָּתָחָה** = **לֹא אָדָם** **לֹא אָצַא פָּתָחָה** **סְמַמְמָלָלָה** **סְמַמְמָלָלָה** **לֹא** **שְׁמַמָּתָה** **לֹא** **שְׁמַמָּתָה** **סְמַמְמָלָלָה** **סְמַמְמָלָלָה** **לֹא** **שְׁמַמָּתָה** **לֹא** **שְׁמַמָּתָה** for which the corresponding Heb. words are not found in RT. 6. reads *εἰ δὲ καὶ εἴλασα ἀδύνατον* *ἐξελθεῖν θύραν μον κόλπῳ κενῷ*. Modern commentators follow **תְּ****י**, *And I kept quiet, did not go out of doors* (so Duhm, Budde, and others), deriving **וְאָדָם** from **דָּמָם**. It may be preferable, however, to point **דָּמָם** from **לֹא**, *to stay*.

16.—In Arab. **دَام** means also *to continue*, and Heb. **דָּמָם** seems likewise to have had this meaning. A derivative from it in this sense may be the noun **גְּבָרִיה**, **גְּמִינִיה**, a formation like **גְּבָרִיה**, **תְּחִתִּיה**, **עֲלִיה**; cf. GK, § 86, 1, and Barth, *Nominalbildung*, p. 406. Comp. also post-Bibl. pl. forms like **אָזְתִּיות**, *letters*, **סְפִּישִׁיות**, **פְּרִישִׁיות**. In Ps. 39 3 is employed in an adverbial sense:

נָלַמְתִּי דָּמִיה הַחֲשִׁיתִי      מִבְּטוּ וּכְאַבִּי נַעֲכָרְ:

I kept quiet continually, was silent  
from talking rashly, and my pain was suppressed.

**מִן** or **מִבְּטָא** or **מִבְּטָא**, so as not to talk rashly, with Gunkel; for see GK, § 119, x. **דָּמִיה** = Arab. **دَائِيْمَا** may mean, was suppressed, Syriac **حَمَّ**, *to hinder, prevent*.

17.—Just as *to stay* in English may mean *to wait*, so also דָּם, e. g. Job 29 21. This verse forms a part of Job's description of his former happiness and of the great honor and respect shown him by his fellowmen. In v. 21 he says:

לִי שָׁמַעַו וַיַּחֲלוּ וַיָּדְמוּ לִמְוֹעֵצָתִי:

To me they listened and stayed,  
and for counsel from me they waited.

We might feel tempted to read **לִמְוֹעֵצָתִי** with several MSS, from מִזְעֵצָה; but cf. Job 27 14; 38 40; 40 4.—The Ancient Versions with one exception translate **וַיָּדְמוּ** by *and they were silent*, **שָׁתְּקִים**; **¶** ἐσιώπησαν; **I** *tacebant*; **S** alone has **مُعْذَّبَة**. Modern commentators offer various explanations for **וַיָּדְמוּ**. Hengstenberg renders 21<sup>b</sup>, *They became silent at my counsel*, i. e. *they received it with reverent silence*. Similarly Franz Delitzsch and Hitzig: *And quietly they yielded to my counselling*. Duhm follows Wright who transposes **וַיַּחֲלוּ** and **וַיָּדְמוּ**, changing the former to **וַיַּחֲפְכוּ**: *To me they hearkened and were silent, and waited for my counsel*. Budde considers this change unnecessary and translates 21<sup>b</sup>, *and they listened silently to my counsel*. **וַיַּחֲלוּ** and **וַיָּדְמוּ** is undoubtedly here a synonym of **וַיַּחֲפְכוּ**, and if we point **וַיָּדְמוּ**, from **דָּם**, *to stay, wait*, the passage becomes perfectly clear.

18.—In Ps. 37 7<sup>a</sup> **דָּם**, *to wait*, is used in the expression *to wait for JHVH*, where we usually find **קוֹה** employed: **דָּם לִיהְוֹה** and **וְהַזְלִילוּ**, *stay for JHVH and wait for Him*.—For **הַתְּחַזֵּל** of RT it seems better to read **הַוְתֵל**, impv. Hif. of **וַתֵּחֶל**. The final **ל** in **הַתְּחַזֵּל** may be due to dittography; the *mater lectionis* **ו** is a later insertion, and the **ת** may be a corruption of **ו**; cf. AJSL 24, 105. It is doubtful whether **חִיל**, *to wait*, occurs in Heb. In Jer. 3 25 we may read **וַיַּחֲלָל**, from **וַתֵּחֶל**; and in Job 35 14 Budde prefers **וְתַחֲלֵל** or **וְתַחֲלָל**, but the impv. may also here be better. **תַּחֲלָה**, Mi. 1 12, means *she suffered, travailed, labored*; cf. AJSL 27, 29, n. 33 and n. 35.—**¶** translates **דָּם** by **שְׁתָוק**; 'A σίγηστον; and Σ ἡσύχαζε. **I** offers *subditus esto*, following **¶** ἡποτάγηθι. **S** renders 7<sup>a</sup>; **כְּשֵׁם מִשְׁנָה מִבְּכוּרָה**, *ask from the Lord and pray before Him*. The commentaries derive **דָּם** from **דָּמָם**, *to be silent*; so Baethgen, Duhm, and others. Duhm

correctly observes that the נ is then superfluous and he cancels it. Briggs translates, *Be resigned to JHVH*, and Wellhausen (SBOT), *Submit quietly*. But parallelism requires דָם to be a synonym of הָוַתְלָה. דָם in RT can be derived only from an ע-verb, and an impv. of דָם, *to stay, wait*, would suit the context perfectly.

19.—In Ps. 62 6 the psalmist again exhorts the faithful to put their trust in God and employs דָם as in the preceding passage. V. 2 should be emended so as to agree word for word with v. 6:

אֶל־אֱלֹהִים דָמֵי נֶפֶשׁ כִּי־מִמְּפֹנוּ תָקוֹתִי:

For God alone wait, O my soul,  
for from Him comes my help.

The Masoretes pointed דָמֵי with dagesh in the מ despite the fact that the consonantal text requires an impv. of an ע verb. T translates it by שְׁתָוקִי; S has מְחַקֵּה, *expect*; G ὑποτάγηθι; Α σίγησον; I subjecta esto. AV renders correctly *wait*, as does Luther, *harret*, but contrast v. 2, *Meine Seele ist stille zu Gott*. The commentaries fail to hit the meaning of דָמֵי. Baethgen, Duhm, Briggs, and others translate it *be silent*; Wellhausen (SBOT), *submit silently*.

20.—*To wait* may mean *to tarry*, and this seems to be the meaning of דָם in Ps. 83 2. RT is perhaps influenced by Is. 62 6. 7. The original text may have been:

אֱלֹהִים אֶל־תָּחַרֵשׁ וְאֶל־תִּשְׁקֹטֶה:

O God, do Thou not tarry,  
be not mute, and be not inactive.

RT offer אל דָמֵי לְךָ translated by Duhm and others, *Let there be no rest unto Thee*. But the Ancient Versions evidently read a verbal form: T לא תָשְׁתּוּךְ לְךָ; G τίς ὀμοιωθήσεται σοί; Vulgate, *quis similis erit tibi*; I ne taceas; S מְכַה יִוְהַדְתָּךְ. G, Vulg., and S seem to have read in their Heb. text: אלְהִים מִי יִדְמָה לְךָ. cf. Ps. 89 7. מִי יִדְמָה לְךָ is best changed to תָּלָם, impf. Q. of דָם. For the *dat. ethicus* cf. GK, § 119, s, and Nöldeke, *Syr. Gr.*, § 224.

20.—With the stem דָם, *to stay, wait, tarry*, may be connected the noun דָמָה, which appears as the name of several cities.

One of these is mentioned by Abulfedâ; see Reinaud, *Géographie d'Aboulfeda*, II, 1 (Paris, 1848), p. 109, n. 4; cf. p. 130. There is a large village Dûmah near Damascus according to Baedeker, *Palästina und Syrien* (1910), p. 315. Because Abulfedâ speaks of rocky Dûmah, J. D. Michaelis believed that it bore the name Dûmah on account of the rocky and solid foundation on which it was built and which ensured its abiding existence. Haupt, AJSL 26, 20, n. 13, suggests with greater probability that Dûmah simply means *Stay* or *Sojourn*, and was a name given to these places by nomadic tribes. The name of the Moabite city קִיבּוֹן may have the same meaning. It appears as קִימּוֹן in Is. 15 9 which may be an older form of קִיבּוֹן. קִימּוֹן stands for קִימּוֹן with vocalic dissimilation, cf. Brockelmann, *Kurzgefl. vergl. Gram.* § 56, D, and OLZ 12, 164 b. In Is. 21 11 קִומָה is probably a mistake for אֲדוֹם, cf. SBOT and Kautzsch, *D. Heil. Schr.*<sup>3</sup>

21.—**הַוָּמָה**—**שָׁאֵל** appears also as a synonym of **שָׁאֵל** and is generally supposed to mean *silence*. This name for Hades, however, must rather be compared with the expression **בֵּית עֹלֶם**, c. Koh. 12 5 and Lidzbarski, *Handbuch der semitischen Epigraphik*, I, 235. The same expression is found also in Egyptian; cf. AJSL 26, 20, n. 13, and the statement of Diodorus Siculus, I, 51, concerning the Egyptians, *τοὺς δὲ τῶν τετελευτηκότων τάφους αἰδίους οἴκους προσαγορεύουσιν, ὡς ἐν ἦδον διατελούντων τὸν ἄπειρον αἰώνα.* Cf. also *Book of Jubilees*, 36 1, **תְּבִרְכָּה :** **וְלֹא יָמַר**, and Tobit 6 3, *αἰώνιον τόπον.* **הַוָּמָה** thus means *abiding*, sc. *abode*, and must be derived from **דָּוּם**, *to stay, continue*; cf. Arab. **مَدِّم**, *eternal, دَائِمَّة*, *eternity.* In the Talmud **הַוָּמָה** means not only the *land of death*, but, construed as a masc. noun, is used to designate the *angel of death*.

22.—A Polel of **דָּוּם** in the sense of *to cause to stay, to check*, occurs Ps. 131, one of the Songs of Ascent. For a discussion of the poem see AJSL 11, 74. 157—162; 2, 105, and JAOS 27, 117. V. 2 may be read as follows:

**אֲבִלָּא דָוּמָתִי נְפֵשִׁי**  
כִּנְכַּל עֲלֵיכָא  
If I did not check my soul  
as a weaned child upon its mother —

For 'א offers *κατεσιώπησα*; **Σ**, ὥμοιωσα, derived the verb from **דָמָה**, *to be like*, while **ঁ** *শ্বাসা*, and **ঁ**, *exaltavi*, read **রোম্মতি**. **S** omits the verb entirely. Modern commentators translate **דָמָתִי** by *I have quieted*, literally, *I have silenced*; so Duham, Baethgen, Stevens, and others.

23.—With the stem **דָוּם** has been connected **הָוָמֵם**, usually considered an adv. like **יוֹמָם**, cf. GK, § 100, g. But it seems rather doubtful whether a word **הָוָמֵם** existed at all in Heb. It occurs in three passages, and in all of them it is very easy by a slight change in pointing to explain the form differently. In the difficult passage Lam. 3 26 **וְדוֹמֵם** of v. 26 and **וַיַּדַּם** of v. 28 should be transposed and the former pointed **מָה**, part. Q. of **דָמָם**, *to mutter*; see below § 61. In Is. 47 5 **דוֹמֵם** should be changed to **דוֹמָם**, inf. abs. Q. of **דָמָם**, *to mutter or moan*; see below § 62. Finally, in Hab. 2 19 **דוֹמֵם** should be pointed **הָוָמֵם**, part. Polel of **דָוּם** with omission of the preformative **מ**; cf. GK, § 52, s. The expression **אָבֵן הָוָמֵם** should then be translated *rigid stone*. **הָוָמֵם** of RT is usually rendered *silently*; but it seems that the rigidity and inability of the stone to move is emphasized and not so much its lack of speech. If we point **הָוָמֵם**, the development of meaning of **דוּם** would be, *to stay, remain, be motionless, rigid*. **אָבֵן** is fem. and so we should expect **הָוָמֵה**, but the masc. part. may readily be explained according to GK, § 128, w; cf. also the remarks in *Crit. Notes on Kings* (SBOT), p. 133, l. 5. **ঁ** omits **דוֹמֵם** altogether; **ঁ** paraphrases, **הָוָא שְׁתָקָא וְדָמִיא**, and *he is still and rigid*. **דָמִיא** is derived by Levy, *Chald. Wörterb. iib. d. Targumim*, from **דָמִי**, a byform of **דָמָם**, *to be silent*; but **דָמִי** may just as well be a byform of **דוּם**, *to stay*. **S** renders **דוֹמֵם** **سَنْعَمًا**, *dumb, deaf*, and **ঁ** offers *tacenti*. San. 91a **כָּאֵבֵן דָוּם** must be translated *like a rigid stone*.

24.—Ex. 15 16 **דוּם** has the same meaning as in the preceding passage. For a metrical arrangement of the couplet see Haupt, AJSI 20, 149 ff. **יְדָמוּ כָאֵבֵן** may be translated *they are rigid as stone*. AV renders *they are still as a stone*, which fails to express whether the Egyptians are meant to be described as silent or as motionless. **ঁ** also leaves us in doubt with **וְשְׁתָקָוּ**. **S** offers **পুরুষ**, *they sink*, the same verb employed in v. 5 for **יְרַדְוּ**, translating **יְדָמוּ** freely as the context seemed to require.

¶ ἀπολιθωθήτωσαν, Σ, ἀκίνητοι ἔσονται, and Ι fiant immobiles quasi lapides, give the best translations, and are followed by Luther: *Daß sie erstarren wie die Steine*. The interpretation of St. Gregory of Nyssa quoted in Field's Hexapla, I. p. 108, n. 29, is concise and to the point: ἐπιπέσοι — ἀπολιθωθήτωσαν· ὅπερ ἔστι, τῇ ὑπερβολῇ τῆς σῆς δυνάμεως ἀκίνητοι διαμειάτωσαν, ὑπὸ τοῦ δέους ἐκνευρισθέντες. Modern commentators, so Baentsch, Strack, and others, translate יְדָמוֹ by *they are dumb*, though this is apparently not the meaning required by the context. The writer does not wish to say that the Egyptians were dumb, but rather that they stood dumbfounded, petrified by fear and astonishment, so that they could not escape the returning waters which carried with them unavoidable death. The verb may be pointed יְדָמוֹ, impf. Nif. of דָם, or יְדָמוֹ, impf. Q., though the former may, perhaps, deserve preference.

25.—¶וַיַּד, *to be dumbfounded*, is found again Lev. 10:3. Nadab and Abihu, the sons of Aaron, had offered strange fire before JHVH and in consequence were consumed by Him. Moses informs their father of the calamity, and adds a quotation in which JHVH is made to say, *Among those who are near me I will manifest my sanctity, and before all the people will I manifest my glory*. The Heb. text then continues, וְיַדְמָם אַהֲרֹן, translated by AV, *And Aaron held his peace*. ¶ offers וְשִׁתְיָק, § מָדָאָו, Ι tacuit, and 'A, perhaps, ἔσιώπησεν. ¶ translates מָדָי by κατενύχθη, which is explained by a scholium to be equivalent to παρεμθίθη, *he was consoled*. However, Passow, *Handwörterb. d. griech. Spr.*, s. v. states that κατανύσσω is used especially of such confusion and terror as deprives one of speech and energy. Stephanus, *Thesaurus*, s. v., says, *Isidorus autem (Ep. 4, 101), ut idem (sc. Suidas) annotat, καταπλαγῶ, μεταστῶ*. The noun κατάνυξις denotes *stunning, stupefaction*. *To stupefy* may mean *to deprive of mobility*; cf. πνέμα κατανύξεως (= רוח תרדמתה, Is. 29:10), Rom. 11:8, and κατενύγησαν τὴν καρδίαν, Acts 2:37. Bearing in mind the situation, κατενύχθη in Lev. 10:3 may readily have the meaning *he was stupefied*. The Ethiopic Version supports this view with its translation ወደንደብ፡ አረብ. Modern commentators adhere to the translation *and he was silent* (so Dillmann-Ryssel, Strack, and

others), interpreting this to mean either that Aaron in silence acknowledged the justice of JHVH's judgment, or that he was consoled when he heard that his sons were so severely punished because they were near to JHVH. These scholars derive דָמָם from דָמָם, *to be silent*, but from what has been said above it seems preferable to consider it an impf. Nif. of דָמָם, *to stay, remain, be rigid*.

26.—If RT is correct in Jer. 14:9 נִרְקָם may be regarded as part. Nif. of דָמָם, which might be a byform of דָמָם in the sense in which it occurs Ex. 15:16 and Lev. 10:3. However, we should probably read נִרְקָם with unction וּנְפָנָה.

27.—דָמָם not only means *to stay, remain, be motionless*, but also *to stop, cease*; so Job 30:27<sup>a</sup>, מַעַי רְתָחֹו וְלֹא־דָמָמוּ, *my inner parts boiled without ceasing*. דָמָמוּ is rendered by συσταθῆσθαι; S has مَحْمَدَه, *absque ulla requie*. T translates וְלֹא־דָמָמוּ, *and not is in them an appearance of blood*. וְלֹא־דָמָמוּ is best taken as a circumstantial clause, *without ceasing*, as Delitzsch, Duhm, Volck and Oettli have done, though these commentators derive דָמָם from דָמָם, *to be silent*. רְתָחֹו = הַמָּה, cf. Cant. 5:4. נִצָּב means *to be greatly moved, excited*, with the noun נִצְמָתָל, *fervor, enthusiasm, excitement*. The meaning of the first hemistich is, *My excitement was high and did not cease*; cf. Assyr. *iççárix kabitti*, my liver cried, i. e., *I was enraged*, HW, 574. Also *libbi egug* means originally, *my heart cried*; cf. Arab. عَجَج. *Nuggatu*, *excitement*, means originally *shouting*, cf. HW, 446.

28.—וְלֹא־דָמָמוּ occurs again in Ps. 35:15. With Haupt the second line of this difficult couplet may be read:

נִכְרִים לְאִידָעִתִי קְרַצְוּ וְלֹא־דָמָמוּ:  
Strangers whom I knew not  
nagged without ceasing.

Olshausen's נִכְרִים is probably the best emendation for of RT. The omission of ר after כ may be due to haplography; cf. AJSL 26, 10. קְרַצְוּ of RT may be an Aram. form equivalent to Heb. קְרַץ from قَرَص, *to nag*. In the same way we find רְצַץ for רְעֵעַ; cf. GB<sup>15</sup>, 917 a and AJSL 23, 243;

also Haupt, *Assyr. Lautlehre*, p. 95, n. 4. The translation *without ceasing* (so Duhm, Baethgen, and others) for **וְלֹא דָמַה** is undoubtedly correct; but the form should not be derived from **דָמַם**, *to be silent*, but rather from **דָמַם**, *to stay, stop, cease*. For **דָמַה** **ג** has *κατενύγησαν*, **ז** *compuncti*, **א** *ἐστάπησαν*; **כ** seems to have read a noun **דָם**, *blood*, while **ש** appears to have had a text in which the verb was wanting entirely.

29.—The three passages now following all resemble each other, and all exhibit forms of **דָמַם**, *to cease*, or of its byform **דָמָה**. The first is Lam. 2 18 where Zion is exhorted not to stop weeping, **אַל-תָּלַמְךָ בְּתִיעַנֵּךְ**, *let thine eye not cease*. RT points **תָּלַמְךָ** which might be taken as Nif. of **דָמַם**, but the pointing **תָּלַמְךָ**, impf. Q., is preferable. For **תָּלַמְךָ** **תָּמַם** offers **תָּשַׁתּוֹק**, **שׁ** **עַל**, **ג** *στιαπήσατο*, **ז** *taceat*. All modern commentators derive **תָּמַם** from **דָמַם**, *to be silent*, taking it in a metaphorical sense; so Löhr, Volck and Oettli, Ewald, and others. The translation *let cease* is required by the context as has long been recognized.

30.—**דָמָה** = **דָמַם**, *to cease*, occurs in Lam. 3 49<sup>a</sup>, **עַיִן נִגְרָה דָמָה** *restlessly flows mine eye*. Of the Ancient Versions **ש** translates correctly **וְלֹא תָשַׁתּוֹק עַל עַד**; **כ** has **וְלֹא תָשַׁתּוֹק** and **ז** *nec tacuit*. **ג** read first pers. sing., *oὐ σιγήσομαι*. Löhr's translation *without interruption* is correct, though *without ceasing* would be clearer.

31.—In the same meaning **דָמָה** is found Jer. 14 17. Among the Ancient Versions **ג**, *καὶ μὴ διαλιπέτωσαν*, gives the best translation for **וְלֹא יִשְׁתַּקְנָה**. **תָּמַם** **שׁ**, **עַל דְּמָמָה**, **ז** *et non taceant*. Duhm and Giesebrécht correctly render *and may not cease*.

32.—From **דָמַם** in the sense *to stay, stop, cease*, may be derived the noun **דָמִיה**, occurring Ps. 22 3<sup>b</sup>. A metrical arrangement of vv. 2 and 3 is found in *Crit. Notes on Kings* (SBOT), p. 170, n.\*. **וְלֹא דָמִיה-לִי** should be translated *there is for me no pause*. For the form of **דָמִיה** see above § 16.

33.—In Ps. 65 2 **דָמִיה** of RT should be changed to **דָמִיה**, *it is meet*, fem. part. Q. of **דָמָה**, *to be like*, on the basis of the Versions: **ג** *πρέπει*, **שׁ** **לְלָא**, and **ז** *decet*, which are followed by Ewald, Cheyne, and others. **לְךָ דָמִיה תַּהֲלֵה** may then be translated *a song of praise befits Thee*. For the form **דָמִיה** cf.

ZDMG 61, 194, n. 2. **דָמָה** is used here in the same sense as **שׁוֹהָ** in Est. 3 8. Syr. **؟مَدَلْ** means *probable, likely*, and we, too, use *likely* in the sense of *suitable, fit*.

34.—The causative of **דָם** means *to cause to cease, put an end to, destroy*, compare **סָוַף** and Assyr. *guttû* and *gamâru*. All the forms in which **דָם** occurs in this meaning might also be pointed as forms of **דָמָם**, which one might be tempted to consider a byform of **תִּמְמָם** (cf. Duhm's emendation cited below, § 59), with partial assimilation of **ת** to the following **מ**. In the same way might be explained Arab. **مَمْ**, *to exterminate*, for **تَمْ**. In a like sense is used **مَمْدَمْ**. From the same root as these may be derived **مَمْرَدْ**, *to perish*, and **مَمْرَدْ**, *to destroy*, and **هَذْمَ**, *to tear down, destroy* (= **نَقْضٌ**). It seems unnecessary, however, to assume a Heb. stem **דָמָם** = **תִּמְמָם**, *to exterminate*.

35.—Jer. 8 14 exhibits both a causative of **דָם** in the sense of *to destroy* and an impf. Q. of the same verb in the meaning *to stay, remain*. From the context we gather that a hostile invasion has taken place, and that the country people are no longer safe. One of them exhorts his fellowmen to seek refuge in the fortified cities. **נְדַמָּה** is variously pointed and translated by lexicographers and commentators. The Versions give us no assistance, **סְכָן** have **נְשַׁתּוֹךְ**, 'A and Σ *σιγήσωμεν*, I *quiete simus*. *ἀπορρίφωμεν* of G probably reproduces Heb. **נְגַרְמָה**. GB<sup>15</sup>, König (Heb. Wb.), and Giesebrécht consider **נְגַרְמָה** of RT an impf. Q. of **דָמָם** with **ת** cohort. and translate *let us be destroyed*, by metonymy for *let us be silent*. Siegfried-Stade (Heb. Wb.), Duhm, and Graf regard **נְגַרְמָה** as impf. Nif. of **דָמָם**, the doubling of the **מ** having been given up, and translate *let us be destroyed*. Ball, *The Prophecies of Jer.*, p. 182, renders *be silent* (or *amazed, stupefied with terror*). If we translate **נְדַמָּה** and *let us be destroyed*, it appears that the people are troubling themselves unnecessarily by retreating to the fortified cities. If destruction must needs overtake them, one would expect them to meet their fate in silent resignation at their houses. However, if we point **נְגַרְמָה**, *let us stay, cohort. impf. Q. of* **דָם**, this difficulty is removed.

**הַרְמָנוּ** has likewise proved a troublesome element. C para-

phrases it **אתֵיתִי עַלְנָה תָּבֵר וְאַבְהַתְנָא** **אַתְּ**, while **ס** renders it by **ἀπέρριψεν**, 'A and **ס** by **κατεσιώπησεν** **ἡμᾶς**. **ἀπέρριψεν** of **ג** probably presupposes **הַרְמַנְנוּ** in the Heb. text. **ג** has *silere fecit*. Ball would adhere to this translation, rendering **הַדְמַנְנוּ** by *He hath silenced us (with speechless terror)*. Graf, Duhm, and Giesebricht prefer *He lets us perish*. Cornill emends the text and reads **לְיהוָה** **לֹז**, besides restoring **לֹז** on the basis of **ג** *ἐναντίον αὐτοῦ*. Graetz, *Emendationes* (1892), suggests **הַרְמַנְנוּ**, *He saturated us*, for **הַדְמַנְנוּ**. As several MSS offer **הַרְמַנְנוּ** (cf. De Rossi, *Scholia Crit. in V. T. Libros*) the change would be slight, but seems unnecessary. It is probably best to read **הַרְמַנְנוּ**. The translation *He causes us to perish* is correct, but the form should not be derived from **דָמָם**, *to be silent*, but rather from **דָם**, *to stay, stop, cease*.

36.—Hos. 4 5 the Piel of **דָמָה** = **דָמָם** seems to have the same meaning as the Hif. of **דָם** in the preceding paragraph. For **דָמָתִי** the Ancient Versions offer a variety of translations: **ג** *ώμοιώσα* (**דָמָה**, *to be like*), **ט** **וְאַבְהִתָּ**, *and I disgraced*, **ס** **וְאַמְתָּ**, **ג** *tacere feci*. Marti alters the text and reads **וְדָמָתִי**, but this is extremely doubtful. A Piel of **דָמָה**, *to stay, cease*, seems to suit the context far better. **אַמְתָּ** of RT may easily be a corruption of **עַמְתָּ**.

37.—Hos. 4 6, reading

**נָדְמָה עַמִּי מִבְּלִי הַדְּעָת :**  
My people is destroyed  
through lack of knowledge,

Haupt considers an explanatory gloss to the preceding verse. **ג** *ώμοιώθη* derives from **נָדְמָה** from **דָמָה**, *to be like*. **ט** has *אִתְפְּשׁוּ*, **ס** *אִתְפְּשָׁ*, **ג** *conticuit*. Nowack correctly renders *my people perishes*. The pointing of RT **נָדְמָה** may be retained as perf. Nif. of **דָמָה** = **דָמָם**, *to stop, cease, come to an end*.

38.—In a number of passages the Nif. of **דָמָם** occurs in the meaning *to be destroyed, to perish*. So in Jer. 49 26<sup>b</sup> and 50 30<sup>b</sup>. For **ט** **יְדָמוֹן** **וַיִּתְבֹּרּוּ**, *they shall be broken*, **ס** **בְּלָאָמָר**, **ט** *conticescent*. These Versions offer the same translation in both passages. But **ג** translates in 49 26 by *πεσοῦνται*, in 50 30 by *ρίφήσονται*, probably reading **נָרְמָז** in

the latter. The commentaries correctly translate יְדָמוֹ by *they shall be exterminated* (Graf), or *they shall perish, be destroyed*. However, the form should not be derived from דָמָם, *to be silent*, but from דָמָם, *to stay, stop, cease*, or, if we point יְדָמוֹ, from דָמָם = דָמָה.

39.—In Jer. 51 6 the Jewish community resident at Babylon is addressed and requested to flee from this city, אל-תדרמו בעוננה, *in her punishment perish ye not*. For לֹא אָלַתְּדָרְמָו has תְּקַטְּלֵן בְּחֻבְּהָא עַל אַחֲדָמָם; 'A offers μήποτε σιωπήσητε, Σ μὴ σιωπηθῆτε, I nolite tacere super iniquitatem eius. Graf translates correctly by *perish*, as he does in 49 26; Giesebricht and others offer practically the same. The stem, however, is not דָמָם, *to be silent*, but דָמָם, *to cease, to perish*, or, if we point תְּדָרְמָו, דָרְמָה = דָמָה.

40.—In Ps. 49 13. 21 נִמְשֵׁל כְּבָהָמוֹת נִדְמָו should be translated *he is like the beasts that perish*. All the Ancient Versions regarded as Nif. of דָמָה, *to be like*. ⑤ καὶ ὥμαιώθη aὐτοῖς, ⑥ οὗτος οὐδεὶς, like a beast he may be likened to nothing, ⑦ οὐδεὶς, I et aequatus est. Baethgen renders it *they must become silent*. But נִדְמָו rather means *they perish*, perf. Nif. of דָמָם, *to stay, stop, cease*; or perhaps also here the traditional pointing may be retained and נִדְמָו may be taken as perf. Nif. of דָמָה = דָמָם. The hemistich means, *Man ends just as the beasts end*, cf. Ecc. 3 19.

41.—Ps. 31 is a prayer to JHVH for deliverance from distress. The second hemistich of v. 18 רְשִׁיעִים יְדָמוֹ לְשָׁאֹל may be translated *let the wicked be despatched to Sheol*. The Versions differ considerably in their translations of v. 18<sup>b</sup>; ⑥ has יִשְׁתַּקְוּ לְשִׁוּלְיָה, ⑤ καὶ καταχθείσαν εἰς ἄδου, 'ΑΣ σιωπησάτωσαν εἰς ἄδου, ⑦ οὐαλ λαμασο, I et deducentur in infernum, some MSS taceant in inferno. This diversity goes to show how unstable tradition was as to the exact meaning of יְדָמוֹ. RV follows 'ΑΣ, *Let them be silent in the grave*. Graetz feels that the expression יְדָמוֹ לְשָׁאֹל is hard and beyond translation. He proposes to emend to יְרֹדוּ, a comparatively slight change, but nevertheless one that seems unnecessary. Baethgen and

Duhm retain the traditional reading and translate *let them grow silent toward Sheol*. Briggs renders (*let the wicked*) *be made silent, dumb, going down to Sheol*. SBOT more correctly (*let the wicked*) *be ruined and go down to Sheol*. Already **T** assumed that we are here dealing with a *constructio praegnans*. This is undoubtedly correct. We should, however, point the verb **ידם** instead of **ידמוּ** and derive it from **דום**, *to stay, cease, perish*, or, perhaps, **ידמוּ** from **דום**. For the translation *despatched* cf. Ez. 23 47, **וברא אתהן בחרבותם**, for which AV has *and despatch them with their swords*.

42.—In some of the passages discussed it was doubtful whether they contained forms of **דום** or of its byform **דמה**. In this paragraph and those immediately following we have clear cases of the occurrence of **דמה** = **דום**. So in Hos. 10 7<sup>a</sup> where the first two words should be transposed: **שְׁמֹרְןָן נְדָמָה מֶלֶכֶת**, *Samaria—her king will perish*. **G** translates **נדמה** by ἀπέρ-ριψε; similarly **S**, **بَعْلَهُ**, and **I**, *transire fecit*. **T** alone has **בְּהִתְחַת**, *is disgraced*. The translation *destroyed is the king of Samaria* (Marti, Nowack) is correct, but should not be derived from **דָמָם** = **דָמָה**, *to be silent*, but rather from **דָום** = **דָמָה**, *to stay, stop, perish*.

43.—In Hos. 10 15<sup>b</sup> we may read **בְּשֻׁעַר יְקַמָּה**, *in the storm he will end*. **B**, cf. Am. 1 14, with Wellhausen, followed by Nowack and Marti, for **בְּשֻׁחָר**. For **נְדָמָה** of RT, **G** seems to have read forms of **רְמָה**: ἀπερρίφησαν ἀπερρίφη; **T** has **בְּהִתְחַת וְאַוְתְּכַנַּע**, *was confounded and humbled*; **S** **לִזְבֹּז וּזְבֹּז**, *was dazed and confounded*; **I** more freely renders *sicut mane transiit, pertransiit rex Israel*, reading probably **בְּשֻׁחָר**. Nowack translates **נדמה** *will be destroyed*, and Marti, *has disappeared*.

44.—Zeph. 1 describes the punishment JHVH inflicts upon Judah and Jerusalem. In v. 11 the words **כִּי נְדָמָה כָּלָעַם כְּנֻעַן** should be translated with Marti and others *for perished are all the merchants*, as the explanatory gloss suggests. **G** translates **נדמה** by ὡμοιώθη (**דָמָה** = *to be like*). **T** correctly **אִירָבָר**, *was broken*, while **S** has **זְבֹּז**, *were confounded*, and **I** *conticuit*.

45.—However, in Ez. 32 2 where **נְדִמִּיתָ** is usually translated

how hast thou perished (so Bertholet, Kraetzschmar) we have to deal with a Nif. of דָמָה, *to be like*, cf. **Θ** ὡμοιώθησ σύ, **Ι** assimilatus es, **Σ** **אָלָכָה**. The beginning of the verse should read כְּכָפֵר גּוֹיִם נְדֻמִּות, *like a lion thou didst seem among nations*. Toy, *Ez.* (SBOT), p. 91, would read **אַל כְּפֵיר** and **נְדָמָה ב'** = **נְמָשֵׁל ב'**, but both are unnecessary. For **נְמָשֵׁל** cf. **נְדָמָה** **ב'**, Ps. 49 13. 21, and Assyr. emû kîma (HW p. 82). The idea of v. 1<sup>a</sup> is, *Thou didst endeavour to appear as a lion, but thou wast a dragon, i. e. a crocodile.*

46.—In *Is. 6 5* we must read **נְטַמֵּתִי** = **נְטַמֵּתִי**, *I am unclean*, for **נְדַמֵּתִי**; cf. *ZAT 27*, 57.

47.—*Jer. 48 2* the Nif. of **דָמָם**, *to stay, stop, cease*, is used of the destruction of a city. Cornill's arrangement of the verse in *Die metr. Stücke d. B. Jer.*, p. 17, is correct if we omit **עַלְיהָ** and read **דָמֵן** for **מָדְמֵן** with Graetz, *Emendationes*, II, p. 59. **גַם לְמַן תְּדַמֵּי** may be translated *thou, too, O Dimon, art doomed*. For **תְּדַמֵּי** **Θ** has *παύσεται*, **Σ** **أَعْلَمَمْ**, **Ι** *conticescet*. **Τ** correctly offers **תְּהַבֵּרֵין**. Orelli and Duhm imitate the paronomasia in their translations, *Auch du Madmen wirst matt gemacht*. Similarly Giesebrécht. Graf translates **תְּדַמֵּי** by *thou wilt be silent*. The stem, however, is **דָמָם**, *to stay, stop, cease*, and the Masoretic pointing need not be changed, although we might read **תְּדַמֵּי** from **דָמָה** = **דָמָה**. The dagesh in **תְּדַמֵּי** may be explained according to GK, § 20, i; cf. the Assyr. forms discussed by Delitzsch, *Assyr. Gr.*<sup>2</sup> p. 133.

48.—The word **דָמָה** or **דָמָתָה** (Baer and Ginsburg) occurring *Ez. 27 32* is usually explained to mean *one silenced, or destroyed*, from **דָמַם**, *to be silent*; but it probably owes its existence to a corruption of the text. Various emendations have been suggested. The best is Cornill's **בְּבִדָה**, adopted by Toy and Kraetzschmar. **בְּבִדָה** was first miswritten **בְּמִדָה**, and then became **כְּדִמָה**. V. 32<sup>b</sup> should be translated *who was glorious as Tyre*.

49.—*Jer 25 37* **וְנִדְמוּ נְאוֹת הַשְׁלֹוֹם** means *and the peaceful meadows are destroyed*. **נִדְמוּ** is correctly translated by **Τ**, **וְצִדְנוּ**, and **Σ**, **وَلَا صَنْ**, *they are destroyed*. **Θ** has *παύσεται*, **Ι** *conticuerunt*. Modern commentators follow **ΤΣ** deriving

from **דָּמָם**, *to be silent*. But it may be preferable to point **נְדָמוּ**, Nif. of **דָּמָ**, *to stop, cease, perish*, or, perhaps, **נְדָמוּ**, from **נְדָמָה** = **דָּמָ**. Delitzsch, *Prolegomena*, p. 64, compares **נְדָמוּ נְאֹות** with Assyr. *gūgū idammum*, the canebrake moans. The Nif. in the Heb. is difficult, but may be explained as in the case of **אָנָה**, GK, § 51, c; cf. Syr. **لَيْسَ** and **لَيْسَ**, Assyr. *šutānu*. But the Assyr. phrase quoted refers to the sound emitted by the canebrake, while **נְדָמוּ נְאֹות** seems to refer to the aspect.

50.—In the two passages now following has the same meaning as in the preceding paragraph. The first is Is. 15 1 where קִרְמֹאָב נִדְמָה and עַרְמֹאָב נִדְמָה is to be translated *Ar-Moab was destroyed* and *Kir-Moab was destroyed*. ❷ offers ἀπολεῖται (*bis*) for נִדְמָה, ❸ conticuit (*bis*). For the first נִדְמָה ❷ has דְמִיכִין, and they are sleeping, for the second, נִדְמָה ❸, and they are slumbering; ❹ in the same way ٥٥٥، ٥٥٥، they are stupefied—they are confounded. Marti and Duhm correctly render נִדְמָה *they are destroyed*. It is not necessary to change the Massoretic pointing, although we may read נִדְמָה, Nif. of דָמָם. עַיר is fem., but for masc. verb preceding a fem. subject cf. GK, § 145, c.

51.—The gloss in Ob. 5 must be translated *how hast thou been destroyed*. ποῦ ἀπερρίφης of 6 seems to indicate that it read a Nif. of רמה instead of נדמיתה. 7 has איכדין הוותא דמוֹךְ, **איכדין** **הוותא** **דמוֹךְ**, *how didst thou sleep*, § 8 **איכדין** **הוותא** **דמוֹךְ**, *quomodo conticuisses*. Nowack's translation is correct though he derives נדמיתה from דם = רמה = *to be silent*.

52.—An entirely different stem from מָנוֹן, *to stay*, is the stem מָנוֹם, *to mutter, whisper*. It occurs far less frequently in the O. T. than מָנוֹן, and some of the passages in which it is found are extremely difficult, not to say desperate. So Ps. 45 which has always proved troublesome to commentators. Haupt, AJSL 26, 22, n. 32, restores the text, rendering לְמָנוֹם by *mutter*. The commentators usually offer *be silent*. The Versions give us no aid whatever to solve the difficulty. The very freely paraphrases the passage. For מָנוֹם has κατανύγητε, Α σιωπήσατε, Σ ήσυχάσετε, *S aji*, *I compungimini*. But if מָנוֹם is derived from מָנוֹם, *to mutter*, the passage becomes clear without resorting to emendation.

53.—In Ps. 30 13 **דָמָם** has a meaning very similar to that in which it occurred in the preceding passage. Here, however, it denotes rather *to speak in a subdued, hardly audible voice*. **וְלֹא יְדַמֵּם** may then be translated *and will not mutter subdued*. For **יְדַמֵּם** **וְיִשְׁתְּקֹן**, **σιωπήσῃ**, **סְתַמֵּם**, **I compungar**. Most modern commentators translate the verb by *be silent*, or *become silent*; Wellhausen and Zenner-Wiesmann alone, *without ceasing*. The latter is possible. **דָמָם** would then have to be pointed as a form of **דָם**, *to stay, stop*. But there seems to be a contrast between **זָמָר** and **דָמָם**, and taking the former to mean *to extol*, the meaning suggested above for the latter would be very appropriate. The idea that the praise is to go on forever is expressed in v. 13<sup>b</sup>.

54.—From the stem **דָמָם**, *to mutter, whisper*, is derived the noun **דָמָמָה**. **וְגַם** translate it by *a'vrā* and *aura*, respectively, denoting a *gentle breeze*. In 1 Kings 19 JHVH reveals Himself to Elijah. First there was a storm, an earthquake, and fire, but in none of these was JHVH. In v. 12<sup>b</sup>, then, we are told **וְאַחֲרָה** **קָולְ דָמָמָה וְדַקָּה**, *the ash kōl Dammah w'Dqah*, *and after fire the sound of a soft whisper*, and in this was JHVH.

55.—Again, Ps. 107 29, we read **יְקַם סָעָרָה לְדָמָמָה**, *He hushes the storm to a whisper*.

56.—Finally, Job 4 16:

**תְּמִונָה לְנִגְדֵּי עֵינִי דָמָמָה וּקְול אַשְׁמָעָה**

A form was before mine eyes,  
a whispering voice I heard.

AV translates *there was silence and I heard a voice*, inserting *there was* for which there is no warrant in the Heb. text.

57.—In the passages now following **דָמָם** is used in connection with mourning or bewailing some misfortune, either the death of some person, a national calamity, or some grievous moral evil encroaching upon a nation. So in Am. 5 13. For **יְדַמֵּם** **שְׁתִיקָה**, **סְתַמֵּם**, **σιωπήσεται**, **I tacebit**. The commentaries translate *therefore the prudent is silent at that time*; so Nowack, Marti, and others. However, the idea of the passage is similar rather to that expressed Prov. 29 2<sup>b</sup>: **בְּמַשְׁלֵחַ רְשֵׁעַ יְאַנֵּחַ עַם**, *when the wicked rules the people sighs*. **דָמָם** is there-

fore better derived from **רָמָם**, *to mutter, sigh*. **משכִיל**, *prudent = pious*; see GB<sup>15</sup>, 779 b, s. v. **שְׁבֵל**; cf. Haupt, *Eccl.*, p. 35, n. 1 on II.

58.—Ez. 24 15-27 the prophet is informed of the impending death of his wife. Yet at the same time he is commanded not to conform to the customary rites of mourning when she is dead. At the beginning of v. 17 **הָאֵנָק דָם** means *sigh and moan*; cf. the second half of the preceding verse. See AJSL 24, 133, n.\*. The two impvs. may well be retained, but should not be translated, *sigh in silence*. For **דָם** **תְּהֻקָּה**, **Σ σιγῶν**, **Ι tacens**. Both **ח** and **ש** pointed the consonants as a noun and read **בָּם** *blood*.

59.—Is. 23 2<sup>a</sup> may be translated *wail ye inhabitants of the coast*. For **דָמוֹ** has **אָתְבָרוּ**, **Σ ἀστερίσατε**, **Σ σιγήσατε**, **Ι tacete**; **ח** pointed **דָמוֹ** and rendered **ὅμοιοι γεγόνασιν**. Modern commentators translate either *be dumb* (Orelli, Drechsler), or *be horror struck* (Delitzsch, Dillmann, and others). Duhm emends and reads **תְּמֻמָּו**, cf. above, § 35. Cheyne (SBOT) proposes **נָדְמוֹ** and is followed by Marti. The context clearly makes the translation *be silent* impossible. **דָמוֹ** must be a synonym of **הַלְילָוּ**, and a form of **דָמָם**, *to mutter, lament*, would be just what one might expect.

60.—The beginning of the triplet Lam. 2 10 reads:

**יִשְׁבּוּ לְאָרֶץ יִדְמֹו זָקִינִי בַּת-צִיּוֹן**  
There sat on the ground mourning  
maid Zion's elders.

For **לְאָרֶץ** cf. Haupt, *Micah*, p. 77 (AJSL 26, 213). **תְּהֻקָּה** renders **יִדְמֹו** by **שְׁתַקְנִין**, **Σ ἐστάπησαν**, **Σ ἀστερίσασιν**, **Ι contiuerunt**. Modern commentators follow the Versions; so Löhr, Budde, and others. However, Nowack, *Archäologie*, I, 195, remarks that Orientals do not know silent grief, but the sensations of joy as well as those of grief reveal themselves in loud utterance. It seems therefore better to translate **יִדְמֹו** *they moan, lament*.

61.—**וַיַּדְמֹם** of Lam. 3 28 and **דָמָם** of 3 26 should be transposed, so as to read:

טוֹב וַיְחַיל וַיָּדַם לְתַשְׁעַת יְהֹוָה:

It is good to wait and stay  
for JHVN's help;

יִשְׁבֵ בְּדַד וְדָמָם כִּינְטָל עַלְיוֹ:

Let him sit alone and moaning  
when it is laid upon him.

For **וַיָּדַם** **וַיָּדַם** has *σιωπήσεται*, **סְמַנְמָנָה**, **וְתַאֲכִלְתָּ**. Löhr, Budde, Volck and Oettli follow the Versions. But **וַיָּדַם** is here best considered impf. Q. of **דָמָם** *to stay*, a synonym of **יִתְחַלֵּל**. For **יִתְחַיל** of RT Budde reads **יִתְחַלֵּל**, but this is not necessary. For the construction of v. 26<sup>a</sup> cf. GK, § 107, q. The translation of AV, *It is good that a man should both hope and quietly wait for the salvation of the Lord*, is correct, especially if we omit *both* and *quietly*. **דָמָם**, v. 28, is rendered by **וְנִסְעַחָסֵא**, **כְּמַתְהִיק**, **וְתַאֲכִלְתָּ** *l'mash'tik*, **וְתַאֲכִלְתָּ** *cum silentio*; **סָלָל** alone has **כְּמַעֲלָה**, *truly, verily*. Löhr translates **דָמָם** by *quietly*, Budde by *silent*. But the consonants may better be pointed as part. Q. of **דָמָם**, *to mutter, sigh*, which would suit the context perfectly. In v. 28 **נִטְלָה** may be taken impersonally, the subject implied being **הַנִּטְלָל**, cf. *Lev.* (SBOT), p. 29, l. 15; *Haupt, Micah*, p. 25, n. 18.

62.—**דָמָם**, as the Masoretes pointed it, occurs again in Is. 47 5. Babylon, whom a great calamity had befallen, is addressed and exhorted **שְׁבֵי דָמָם בְּחַשֵּׁךְ**, *sit thou moaning in darkness*. The form **דָמָם** being a rather doubtful one, it seems preferable to read the inf. abs. Q. of **דָמָם**, *to moan*. The change is very slight. For this construction (*adv. [acc.]*) cf. GK, § 113, h, z (end). Marti and others retain **דָמָם**, translating it by *silent*, following **שְׁתָקָא**, and **וְתַאֲכִלְתָּ**, and **וְתַאֲכִלְתָּ** *tacens*. **וְתַאֲכִלְתָּ** has *κατανευγμένη*, and **סְלָלָה**, *in confusion*.

63.—**דָמָה** = **דָמָה**, byform of **דָמָם**, *to mutter* (cf. above) occurs but once, *Jer. 47 5<sup>a</sup>*:

בָּאָה קְרַחָה עַל־עָזָה נְדַמְתָּה אַשְׁדּוֹן:

Has brought upon Gaza baldness,  
Ashdod wails.

**עַל** with **וְתַאֲכִלְתָּ** **אַיְתָבָרְוּ** **נְדַמְתָּה** by **נְדַמְתָּה** and **אַיְתָבָרְוּ**, respectively, while **וְתַאֲכִלְתָּ** has *conticuit*. **וְתַאֲכִלְתָּ** seems to have read **נְרַמְתָּה** = *ἀπερρίφη*. Modern commentators follow **וְתַאֲכִלְתָּ**

is destroyed; so Duhm, Giesebrécht, and others. But נְדַמְתָּה is used in connection with expressions referring to mourning, cf. דָמֵם, Lam. 2 10, above, § 60, and therefore the translation *is destroyed* seems untenable. The Nif. might be retained, but the Q. deserves preference. For the reading אֲשָׁדוֹד see Kautzsch, *D. Heil. Schr. d. A. T.*

64.—From the stem דָמָה = דָמֵם, *to mutter*, should be derived the noun נְדַמִּי, *whisper*, Is. 62 6:

הַמּוֹכִירִים אֶת־יְהָוָה אֶל־דָמִי לְכָם:  
Ye who are reminders of JHVH  
no whisper for you.

• The *reminders* of JHVH are angels who remind Him of His promises. They are not *to whisper*, but *to cry aloud*. In the late gloss at the beginning of v. 7 נְדַמִּי may be used in the sense of *rest*, and should, perhaps, be regarded as a derivative of דָמָה = דָמֵם, *to stay*.

65.—In RT נְדַמִּי is found again in Ps. 82 2, but the Versions show that a verbal form should be read in place of the noun, see above, § 20.

66.—In Is. 38 10 נְדַמִּי means *half*, cf. 3 in *dimidio*, 8 in ~~הַמְּעַמְּדָה~~, and should be derived from דָמָה, *to be like*; cf. Assyr. *m išlu*, from מְשַׁל, *to be like*; see GB<sup>15</sup> s. v. דָמֵם and Delitzsch, *Assyr. Lesest.*<sup>5</sup>, p. 169.

67.—To summarize briefly, the following seems to be the development of meaning of דָמֵם and דָמָה, *to stay*, and of נְדַמָּה, *to mutter*:

—דָמֵם—Qal, (1) *to stay, halt, remain*, Jos 10 12. 13; 1 Sam. 2 9. 14 9; Jer. 8 14. 47 6; Job 31 33.—(2) *to remain immovable, be rigid*, Hab. 2 19.—(3) *to wait*, Ps. 37 7. 62 6. 83 2; Job 29 21; Lam. 3 28.—(4) *to stop, cease*, Ps. 35 15; Job 30 27; Lam. 2 18.—(5) *to come to an end, to perish*, Jer. 25 37; Ps. 31 18. 49 13. 21.—Po'el, *to cause to stay, to check*, Ps. 131 2.—Hifil *to cause to stay, cease, perish*, Jer. 8 14.—Nifal, (1) *to cause to remain, be rigid, be dumbfounded*, Ex. 15 16; Lev. 10 3.—(2) *to be caused to cease, to be ended, destroyed*, Jer. 48 2. 49 26. 50 30. 51 6; Hos. 4 6. (29)

**דָמַת** (= דָמָ) — Qal, *to stay, stop, cease*, Jer. 14 17; Lam. 3 49. Pi'el, *to cause to cease, to end, destroy*, Hos. 4 5. — Nif'al, *to be caused to cease, to be ended or destroyed*, Is. 15 1; Hos 10 7. 15; Zeph. 1 11; Ob. 5. (8)

**דָמַם** — Qal, *to mutter, Ps. 4 5; to mumble, Ps. 30 13; to sigh, Am. 5 13; to moan, Is. 23 2. 47 5; Ez. 24 17; Lam. 2 10. 3 28* (8).

**דָמַת** (= דָמַם) — Qal, *to mutter, moan, Jer. 47 5.*

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## “Higher” Archaeology and the Verdict of Criticism

GEORGE A. BARTON

BRYN MAWR COLLEGE

BIBLICAL archaeologists are divided into two classes, those who are advocates of some special theory, and those who are ready to follow the evidence whithersoever it may lead. The present paper deals only with the work of the conservative members of the first of these classes.

An American scholar<sup>1</sup> in a book recently published has done me the honor to invite me in his preface to criticise his work. If I take this book of my friend as an example of the inadequacy of the methods of this reactionary school of “higher” archaeology, it is because the interests of truth demand a discussion of the misleading claims of this and similar books. The invitation is accepted, accordingly, in the spirit in which it was given.

Professor Kyle has made an earnest effort to appreciate the fact that different points of view are possible, and to express himself with that consideration which becomes a scholar who is conscious that he himself sees facts through the medium of his own presuppositions. This effort has enabled him to produce a work written in excellent spirit, but has not preserved him from the pitfalls which inevitably beset his class. Too high praise cannot, however, be given him for the elevated spirit of his work, a quality too often painfully lacking in books of this kind.

There are certain fallacies of assumption which underly his methods, as they do those of many writers of this school. It is

<sup>1</sup> M. G. Kyle, *The Deciding Voice of the Monuments in Biblical Criticism*, Oberlin, Ohio, 1912.

assumed that if it can be proved that a thing may have happened, it is thereby proved that it did happen. Considerable space is expended to show that the world of the time of Abraham was a civilized world, and that it was easy and natural for Abraham and Jacob to go to Egypt, when it was ruled by Hyksos kings, who are thought to be Semitic. This is knowledge which we had before, and which no one has a disposition to deny; but if archaeology is to have any deciding voice between the theories of critics and those of the traditionalists, evidence must be forthcoming concerning this particular Abraham and this particular Jacob. As yet there is no such evidence, and such as there is, as will be indicated below, points in a different direction.

Again Professor Kyle is at considerable pains to show that the age of Abraham and Moses was a literary period, when such a work as the Pentateuch might well have been written, and he seems to think that such evidence is of prime importance in deciding the question. In reality such evidence has nothing to do with the question, *unless the internal evidence of the Pentateuch fits the age which is so constructed*. With this question the book nowhere comes into close quarters. There are a few dogmatic assertions, but the vital questions are never touched. To prove that writing was known in the time of Moses and the Patriarchs does not prove that they could write. Probably there were never so many schools in Palestine, thanks to missionary effort, as there are today, and yet it would be precarious to argue that the Bedu chiefs who wander into the country can write. All who know the land would hold the presumption to be that they cannot. Again, if it were archaeologically proven that Moses could write, that would not prove that he wrote the Pentateuch. Many of us who can write never produced a Pentateuch and never will. The decisive point is: *does the Pentateuch we have furnish internal marks that it came from the age of Moses?* External evidence can pronounce no decisive verdict apart from internal evidence.

In treating of this matter of writing Professor Kyle falls into an error, which illustrates how insecure many of his archaeological conclusions are. At Telloh some clay labels from the time of

Naram-Sin, Shargani-sharri, and Bingani-sharri were found. Heuzey first published them in the *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1897, and afterwards in Sarzec's *Découvertes en Chaldée*, pp. 280—288. Just after their first publication, Sayce in his *Archaeology and Cuneiform Inscriptions*, p. 143, made one of his brilliant, but unfounded generalizations. His words are: "There was an excellent postal service connecting Canaan with Babylonia, which went back to the days of Naram-Sin, and some of the clay *bullae* which served as stamps for the official correspondence at that period are now in the Museum of the Louvre." Professor Kyle in his book, p. 84ff., enlarges upon this, saying that the sending of a few government dispatches would not necessitate a postal system, that it is only some four centuries since the demands of the modern world called the Post Office into existence, and implying that the people of Babylonia were much further advanced than those of Mediaeval Europe in the matter of general letter writing.

In reality this whole conception is a creation of the imagination. The Babylonians had no general post office, and these *bullae* were not postage stamps. We know that the Babylonians did sometimes write letters, but they addressed them on a clay envelope and not on a ball tied to the letter. If the letter was that of a private person, it was sent by a private messenger. These *bullae* were labels or baggage tags, which were attached to packages of one sort or another. Several of them which were attached to packages of provisions sent by Barnamtarra, the wife of Lugalandra as gifts for certain feasts, are now known.<sup>2</sup> Another which was apparently attached to a package of wool sent from a royal flock to a king of Ur has recently been published.<sup>3</sup> Many such clay labels are now known. They were attached to packages of flour,<sup>4</sup> to sheep,<sup>5</sup> cattle, and to all sorts of merchandise which might be shipped on the canals of Babylonia.

<sup>2</sup> See Allotte de la Fuye, *Documents présargoniques*, 11—30, 79, 80.

<sup>3</sup> *AJSI*, XXIX, 137 and plate.

<sup>4</sup> See Barton, *Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets*, II, p. 9ff.

<sup>5</sup> See Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, 414—416.

In the time of the dynasty of Ur there was a regular system of government messengers, who were provisioned by the temples. About 170 of the monthly accounts of these supplies are known to the writer, of which he has himself edited about seventy. These tablets show that messengers, tax collectors, and soldiers travelled about in accordance with a regular system. They were not always engaged in postal service. One text states of a messenger: "for the skin of the wild ox he went,"<sup>6</sup> while it is said of another that he went for a certain kind of fish.<sup>7</sup> There is no evidence that a postal system for private correspondence existed in ancient Babylonia any more than in ancient Persia. Darius I established a system which is described by Herodotus<sup>8</sup> and Xenophon,<sup>9</sup> and which gave to our New Testament the Persian word *ἀγγαρεύω*, "to compel to go" (Mt. 5:41), but this was a postal system for government use only, and in no sense for private correspondence. The ancient world was unacquainted with the modern Post Office, and all inferences based on the opposite supposition are of no value whatever. The "higher" archaeologists of the traditional type, like other writers of the traditional school, have a tendency to seize upon side remarks of critics, upon which nothing has ever depended, and to think the whole critical structure falls if they can disprove such remarks. My archaeological friend makes this error with reference to the antiquity of writing.

Like all similar writers Professor Kyle has much to say of Genesis 14. He tries to refute the statement of Driver that the discoveries of Archaeology have never touched the core of Nöldeke's criticisms of that chapter. He has to admit that the kind of evidence which Driver says would be necessary to overthrow Nöldeke's view, is not forthcoming, but endeavors (p. 202 ff.) to state such evidence as we have. He admits that the name of Chedorlaomer has not been found, but beyond this misstates most of the evidence, calling Amraphel "the great Elamite lawgiver!" Such evidence as we have will be treated below, where it will be seen to have quite other bearings than those claimed for it.

<sup>6</sup> *AJSL*, XXIX, p. 127, No. 1, rev. 13.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Barton, *op. cit.* III. Pl. 110, No. 233, 12.

<sup>8</sup> Herodotus, VIII, 98.

<sup>9</sup> Cyropedaea, VIII, 6, 17.

Professor Kyle tells us on p. 52 that the statement of Gen. 10:8, "Cush begat Nimrod," is confirmed by the fact, recognized by all scholars, that there was in Babylonia a non-Semitic people which they call Sumerian. A few lines later another reference to "Cush" from Gen. 10:6 is taken to refer to Hamites, and the reader is left to infer, what Gen. 10 really assumes, that the two Cushes were one and the same and that Assyria was founded by Hamites. Kyle, then, claims by implication that the Sumerians were Hamites. He says, "archaeology confirms the statement, that Assyrian civilization, so distinctly Semitic, is said to have come out of the non-Semitic civilization of Babylonia." If the Bible is here vindicated, as claimed, the writer must believe the Sumerians to be Hamites. With reference to this remarkable claim three things should be said: 1. The implication that the Sumerians were Hamitic is diametrically opposed by the evidence. Professor Kyle, as an Egyptologist, should know that the Hamitic languages are a well defined group, consisting of Egyptian and Coptic, the languages of the Berbers and of the tribes of Somaliland. Their characteristics are well defined, and are well known. The characteristics of Sumerian are also well known and exclude definitely and forever the idea that the Sumerians were related to the Hamitic race. 2. The archaeological evidence clearly shows that Babylonia was not non-Semitic, but that a non-Semitic people settled there after the Semites entered it. This view, for which the writer argued in 1901 from the character of the mythology,<sup>10</sup> has since been strikingly confirmed by Eduard Meyer from the side of the art.<sup>11</sup> The gods of the beardless Sumerians wore Semitic beards!—a striking evidence that the Sumerians had taken over Semitic gods which were there before them. It cannot truthfully be said, therefore, that the Assyrian civilization came entirely out of a non-Semitic civilization. 3. Archaeological evidence supplies the clue to the statement of the compiler of Genesis, and shows us where he went astray. His "Cush" of verse 6 is the Egyptian *Kesh*, the name of Nubia. His "Cush" of verse 8 is the Babylonian *Kash*,

<sup>10</sup> *Semitic Origins* ch. V.

<sup>11</sup> *Sumerier und Semiten in Babylonien*, Berlin 1906. See Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, *passim*.

the name of the Cassites, who conquered Babylon about 1750 B.C., and founded a dynasty which lasted for 576 years. The Biblical compiler, finding these in the J and P documents, respectively, had not the historical knowledge, to distinguish either these from the older Sumerian civilization, or each from the other. The archaeological evidence, so far from confirming his statement, reveals the striking limitations of his knowledge. We now know his sources, and we know how inadequate was his ability to use them, and how erroneous his statement. To recognize this frankly is by no means to condemn his work as of no religious value. To suppose that inspiration implies infallible knowledge is a figment of the imagination of theologians, the baneful influence of which in modern religion it would be hard to overestimate.

The book under discussion attempts two positive arguments for the refutation of critical views, which deserve a moment's attention: its argument from Egyptian words, and its argument from the high place at Gezer. The author cites as evidence (p. 164) of the Mosaic origin of the Pentateuch a number of Egyptian words. Several of these words are, however, inappropriate to the argument, for, as he admits, they are used in Job, which most scholars now regard as post exilic. A good deal is made in the book of the Egyptian name Asenath, which occurs from the 18th dynasty on, but my friend has little to say of Potiphar and Zaphenathpaneah, which belong to a type found mainly in the 22nd dynasty and later. Asenath may of course have been used at any time after it was introduced, whether in the 9th century or the 13th. The name on which most is staked is, however, the name Rameses, applied to a part of Egypt in Gen. 47:11 and to a city in Ex. 12:37, Nu. 33:3, 5. Kyle claims that the region was not called by this name before the time of Moses, and was not so called afterward, so that we have here a decisive indication that these passages could have been written only in the time of Moses. Professor Kyle has in this argument failed to apply a knowledge of the East, of which it is difficult to suppose him ignorant. Names once employed there are blotted from popular usage with the greatest difficulty, and one cannot safely say from the non-mention of a

name in literary sources that it has gone out of use. The conservative peasant may still employ it. Bethshean was called Scythopolis for some centuries, but its old name never died out; it still lives in Beisan. The same is true of many another name. Moreover one can never predict what name will survive and what will not. The St. Giles of the Crusaders still survives in the Palestinian place name, Singil. All that this name Rameses in the Pentateuch shows is that the documents which contain it could not have been written earlier than the time of Rameses II. It has no bearing whatever upon a later date.

In treating of the high place at Gezer, my friend endeavors to show (pp. 118 ff. and 259), that there is no ground for the claim that the discoveries at Gezer sustain the statement of the J document (Josh. 16 10, Jud. 1 29) and prove the unhistorical character of the statement of the P document (Josh. 21 21), that Joshua gave Gezer to the Kohathites as a Levitical city. To establish his contention Professor Kyle quotes Macalister to the effect that just at the time when the Hebrew conquest occurred a new influx of population came into Gezer, which so crowded the city that the area of the high place was encroached upon by dwelling houses. Kyle says: "This encroachment upon the sacred place, as well as the rapid decline of some of the horrible heathen rites of human sacrifice together with the introduction of milder and more spiritual Jewish ideas, certainly does seem to point toward a rather radical change in religious ideas . . . . That the book [Joshua] as it stands should be thus vindicated by archaeological evidence goes far toward vindicating the unity and trustworthiness of the book. It would seem a most remarkable coincidence, to say the least, if the critical analysis of Joshua be correct, that a document so independent of the archaeological evidence as the 'P document' is claimed to be should have been combined with other material in such fashion that the book thus formed would be exactly in harmony with the archaeological remains to be preserved for millenniums and dug up in these latter days!" With reference to this argument (which is the strongest point against criticism that Kyle makes in his book) three things should be noted:—  
1. The archaeological evidence is not correctly reported. 2. It

is not interpreted in accordance with ancient analogies. 3. Even if the facts and interpretation were such as my friend represents them, they do not vindicate or harmonize the contradictory statements of Josh. 16:10 and Josh. 21:21.

1. The archaeological evidence does not show that there was any radical change in religious ideas with the incoming of the Hebrews. Human sacrifice continued all through the Hebrew period at Gezer, and did not become even sporadic until the Hellenistic period.<sup>12</sup> The introduction of "the beautiful symbolism of the bowl and lamp deposits" in place of human sacrifices, was due in no degree to the coming of the Hebrews; it began in the second Semitic stratum, was common in the third, while the Hebrews belong to the fourth.<sup>13</sup> It triumphed in the end only because all Semitic people were becoming so civilized that human sacrifice was revolting to them. To regard the encroachment upon the high place as due in any measure to Jewish ideas, is a misinterpretation of the evidence, for it involves the notion that the high place lost something of its sacredness in the eyes of the people. This was not the case. Macalister definitely says:—"The sanctuary did not thereby lose its holiness."<sup>14</sup>

2. There are ancient Semitic analogies which explain this encroachment upon the high place, and the facts must be interpreted in accordance with them. When an alien or a group of aliens came into a new community, it was necessary, if they would be at peace with the natives, or have any standing at all in the new community, to put themselves under the protection of the deity of the place. Such persons attached themselves to the sanctuary, and were known as **גָּרִים**. A Phoenician inscription from Kition in Cyprus (*CIS*, I, 86) shows that such *gerîm* received portions from the temple revenues on festal days just as the regular attachés of the temple did. This was a custom which the Hebrews shared with their Semitic kindred in general.<sup>15</sup> There is, then, one and only one correct interpretation to be

<sup>12</sup> Macalister. *The Excavation of Gezer*, 1912, II. 431.

<sup>13</sup> Macalister, *ibid.* 434.

<sup>14</sup> Macalister, *ibid.* 406.

<sup>15</sup> W. R. Smith, *Rel. of Sem.*, 76ff.; also Ps. 5:4, 15:1, 61:4.

placed upon the facts at Gezer. Whether the people who crowded into Gezer and encroached upon the high place were Hebrews or not, they placed themselves under the protection of the deities of the sanctuary, and were permitted to build houses on the sacred precincts because they as *gerîm* had become in a sense sacred to the goddess. It is only thus that such encroachment can be reconciled with the undiminished holiness of the high place. That the high place lost none of its old time sanctity until the days of the Babylonian exile, can never be doubted by one who was present, as the writer was, while its excavation was going on, and saw the multitude of primitive religious symbols employed during all the Semitic periods, not excepting the Hebrew. If there were one element needed in the excavation of Gezer to show that the monotheistic and moral ideas of the P document were not influential at the time of the Hebrew conquest, it would be just this encroachment upon the high place without diminution of the holiness of the sanctuary in popular regard.

3. Even if Professor Kyle had correctly understood the archaeological evidence, his conclusion would not follow. Joshua 21:21 demands more than a mild and gradual exertion of Jewish moral ideas. It presupposes the extinction of Canaanitish institutions and the planting in their stead of Levitical institutions. Archaeology offers no evidence that such a change occurred at Gezer before the Maccabaean period. The J and P parts of the narrative are directly opposed to each other here. How the evidence, even as my friend presents it, can show that a thing both did and did not occur, the reader finds it hard to understand.

This last point illustrates the fact that all those who seek by means of archaeology to overthrow criticism are following an *ignis fatuus*. The most decisive criteria in favor of the critical theory are the contradictions in the codes, and the fact that the history shows that the codes came into actual effect as moulding forces in the life of the people at widely different periods in their career. These results archaeology cannot touch until it can show how it can possibly be right to build a multiplicity of altars (Ex. 20:24-26), and yet wrong to build more than

one (Dt. 12); how it can be right to make a Hebrew a slave for six years (Ex. 21 2-6, Dt. 15 12-18), but wrong to make a Hebrew a slave at all (Lev. 25 39-46); how it is more divine for the laws to be revealed to Moses in the tangled and contradictory form in which they lie in our Pentateuch nearly a millennium before some of them were effective, than for God to guide prophets, priests, and sages, to meet the crises of the life of an advancing nation with new and appropriate legislation. Not until archaeology can accomplish this impossible task can it have any "deciding voice" in Old Testament criticism.

The book of my friend claims that it is in conservative seminaries only that scholars are found who take into account *all* the facts. Whether that is or is not true, the reader of his book and of this article must judge. Kyle also makes much of the fact that critics do not often cite archaeological evidence in support of their views, claiming that there is no such evidence.

With reference to this last claim it should be said, that archaeological evidence in favor of critical views exists, and, if it is not cited, it is because critics have a keener sense of what is relevant and decisive than the archaeological advocates of tradition have. That such evidence exists, the following five instances will prove. They are by no means the only ones that could be cited, but are chosen because they lie within easy reach of the writer.

1. The critics claim that there are two accounts of the creation in Genesis, one in Gen. 1 1—2 4a, the other in Gen. 2 4bff. The first of these accounts assumes as a primeval chaos a mass of waters, tells how these were divided by a firmament, and makes the periods of creation seven in number. The second assumes the existence of the earth, and goes on to explain the creation of man, animals and the beginnings of civilization. Among the religious texts of Babylonia two similar accounts of the creation have been found; one begins with a primeval chaos of water, which is divided by a firmament for the creation of heaven and earth, and makes the epochs of creation seven;<sup>16</sup> the other begins by assuming the earth, and goes on to tell of

<sup>16</sup> Among the many translations, see that of Rogers, *Cuneiform Parallels to the Old Testament*, 1912, pp. 3—44.

the creation of living things and of the rise of civilization.<sup>17</sup> These Babylonian and Biblical accounts differ in their religious aspects, but the existence of the Babylonian myths, and their agreement with the Biblical accounts in the points mentioned, is a striking confirmation of the critical view. I am far from saying that it is decisive; I am only saying that in so far as it goes it is confirmatory. I am sure that if our archaeological advocates had a point nearly as strong, they would never be weary of ringing the changes upon it.

2. Another point in which archaeology confirms criticism is the instance of the 14th chapter of Genesis. In spite of all that has been written to the contrary, the kings who are said to have fought with Abraham, have not been brought to light by archaeology in a way to confirm that chapter. The facts are as follows:

Hammurapi, the great Babylonian lawgiver, one of the most important of all the Babylonian kings, reigned from 2123 to 2081 B.C., and claimed sovereignty of MAR-TU, or the West-land, probably Syria and Palestine. Many scholars have held that Hammurapi was the same as Amraphel of Gen. 14:1. The names would exactly correspond were it not for the *l* at the end of Amraphel. By no known philological equivalence does that letter belong there, and if Hammurapi is intended by Amraphel, Gen. 14 must have been written so late that the name had become corrupted in a way similar to the corruption from which good Hebrew names have suffered in the angelic lists of the Ethiopic Enoch.<sup>18</sup>

Arioch, king of Ellassar (Gen. 14:1), has been identified with Rim-Sin, king of Larsa, a contemporary to Hammurapi in the latter part of his reign. But the fact is the name of Rim-Sin could not even in Sumerian possibly be read Ari-aku. That of his brother, Arad-Sin, might be so read, but there is nothing to lead us to suppose that it was, and there is no evidence that either Arad-Sin or Rim-Sin were ever in friendly alliance with Hammurapi.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> See Rogers, *op. cit.*, pp. 47—50.

<sup>18</sup> See the writer's article, "Origin of the names of Angels and Demons in the Extra-Canonical Apocalyptic Literature to 100 A.D" in this JOURNAL, XXXI, 156ff.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. this JOURNAL, XXVIII, 158ff.

Again, much has been made of the fact that Kudur-Mabug, the father of Arad-Sin and Rim-Sin, who was the AD-DA or ruler of Emutbal, a district of western Elam, calls himself AD-DA of MAR-TU,<sup>20</sup> which has been supposed to be Palestine. MAR-TU, however, simply meant the place of sunset, and probably in this inscription refers to the western part of Elam.<sup>21</sup> There is really nothing whatever to connect Kudur-Mabug with Palestine at all. And even if there were, his name is not Chedorlaomer, so that again the inscription would be evidence of the lack of information on the part of the Biblical writer.

Much has been made by Professors Sayce<sup>22</sup> and Hommel of four documents published by Pinches in the *Transactions of the Victoria Institute*, XXIX, 82ff., which, according to Sayce and Pinches, contain the names of Arioach, Chedorlaomer, and Tidal, the three kings, who in Gen. 14:1 are associated with Amraphel. The documents are written in Semitic and are from the Persian period, not earlier than the fourth century B.C. In reality neither the names Chedorlaomer nor Arioach appear in the text. The name read Kudurlakhmal is really *Ku-ku-ku-mal* or *Ku-dur-ku-mal*. The other reading is only obtained by giving to the sign KU in its third occurrence a value, *lakh*, altogether unattested by the cuneiform literature. The name read Eri-eaku and identified with Arioach is spelled in two ways. If read as Sumerian, it might be Eri-eaku. The text in which it occurs is, however, Semitic, and it is probable that the name is to be read here in Semitic fashion. So read it becomes Arad-malkua, or Arad-malaku. Tudkhula, the supposed Tidal, is not called in the document a king at all. To identify him with "Tidal, king of the nations," is a purely fanciful procedure.

It should be noted that in the documents which record these names Arad-malaku, the supposed Eri-aku, takes no part in the wars described; it is his son, Dursil-ilâni (who, by the way, has a good Semitic name) who is represented as the contemporary

<sup>20</sup> "Cuneiform Texts," XXI, 33.

<sup>21</sup> See Price, *Decennial Publications of the University of Chicago*, V, 167 ff.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. PSBA. XXVIII, 203—218, 241—251; XXIX, 7—17. Cf. also King, *Letters and Inscriptions of Hammurabi*, I, p. 11 ff.

of Kukukumal, the supposed Chedorlaomer. It should be further noted, that these documents represent a complete conquest of Babylon by Elam—a conquest so complete that:

"In their faithful counsel unto Kukukumal, king of Elam,  
They [the gods] established the fixed advance, which to them seemed  
good.

In Babylon, the city of the gods, Marduk set his [Kukukumal's]  
throne,

All, even the Sodomites of the plundered temples, obeyed him.

Ravens build their nests; birds dwell [therein];

The ravens croak (?), shrieking they hatch their young [in it].

To the dog crunching the bone the Lady . . . . . is favorable.

The snake hisses, the evil one spits poison."

This quotation from the second of the documents published by Pinches describes a complete subjugation and desolation of Babylon by Kukukumal, king of Elam. This definitely excludes the possibility that Kukukumal could have acted in harmony with Hammurapi, as Chedorlaomar is said to have done. Indeed, it shows that he was not a contemporary of Hammurapi at all, for during his powerful reign there was no such conquest of Babylon by Elam. There were many conquests of Babylonia by the Elamites, and this must refer to some other period. In the documents themselves there is evidence that another period is intended, for Babylon is called by its Cassite name, Karduniash, a name that it did not bear until three or four hundred years after Hammurapi.

If the 14th chapter of Genesis was influenced at all by these documents, it is only another proof that the critics have been right, and that the chapter is not an authority as history. Indeed the history as reconstructed from the monuments shows Hammurapi in such sincere rivalry with the king of Larsa, that a joint invasion of Palestine by them, while not impossible, is most improbable.

3. The excavations at Gezer and at Taanach confirm the critical view of the late date of the D and P legislation and narratives. The D legislation (Dt. 12) prohibits all altars but one, and makes it a religious duty to break down the "pillars" of the high places. The P legislation (Lev. 17) takes the existence of but one altar for granted, while the P narrative

(Josh. 21:21, 25) makes Gezer and Taanach Levitical cities. The excavations at Gezer show not only that the "pillars" were never broken down there, but that the worship at the high place was not interrupted between the Hebrew conquest and the Babylonian exile. This evidence has been discussed above, and definitely excludes such interruption of the worship there as would surely have occurred, if the religious ideas embodied in either D or P had been introduced there. The evidence at Taanach as gathered by Sellin<sup>23</sup> is not so complete, but it shows the worship of Astarte as present there from the time of the Canaanites to the destruction of the northern kingdom. The archaeological evidence is so strong that, when the writer was on the ground, he was convinced by it alone that the account of the Levitical cities in Joshua must be a post-exilic writer's explanation of the fact that there were large families of priests connected with these cities, and that they possessed considerable estates there.<sup>24</sup> So far as the evidence has been recovered, no other conclusion seems justified. The archaeological evidence shows no trace of the existence of the Deuteronomic and Priestly institutions, but on the contrary seems definitely to exclude them.

4. Another point in which archaeology confirms the critical view may be found in the Aramaic papyri discovered at Elephantine in Egypt. One of these papyri<sup>25</sup> consists of a letter written by Hananiah (possibly a brother of Nehemiah) to the Jewish community at Elephantine in the year 419 B.C. Although the papyrus is but a fragment of the original letter, it is clear that its author is explaining to his brethren in detail the Levitical requirements for the observance of the Passover. He states the requirement as given by P in Lev. 23 and Ex. 12, that the feast shall be kept from the 14th of Nisan at sunset until the 21st of Nisan. The prohibitions against doing any work, and against leaven are also set forth. If these requirements

<sup>23</sup> See Sellin, *Tell-Ta'anek*, Vienna, 1904, Ch. XII, XIX, XX.

<sup>24</sup> See the writer's article "The Levitical Cities of Israel in the Light of the Excavation at Gezer," *Biblical World*, XXIV, 167-179.

<sup>25</sup> See Sachau, *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus einer jüdischen Militär-Kolonie zu Elephantine*, 1911, No. 6; cf. also Arnold, in *JBL*, XXXI, 1 ff.

of the priestly code had been set forth by Moses and had been in force for nearly a thousand years, it is inconceivable that it should have been necessary to inform the Jewish community in Egypt concerning them in this way. An American today might conceivably write to a company of American missionaries in China about a sane and safe Fourth of July, but at no time since the early days of the republic would it be necessary to write to a company of Americans abroad, "the Fourth of July is properly observed by setting off fire-crackers from dusk of the 3rd onward." Such detailed information in the letter of Hananiah is readily explicable, if the Levitical law had been introduced into Jerusalem some 25 years before, and the distant community on the Nile had never before had its details. Another of these papyri confirms the critical view of the date of Deuteronomy. It is a letter to Bagoses, the Persian governor,<sup>26</sup> which sets forth that the writers represent a community possessing a temple of Yahweh at Elephantine, which had existed there from the days of the native kings of Egypt, and which Cambyses found when he conquered Egypt, but which an official named Waidrang had now destroyed. The letter goes on to relate that the temple had been in ruins for three years, that formerly they had written to the high priest at Jerusalem to intercede in their behalf, but that nothing had come of it. They appeal in the letter under discussion to Bagoses directly, saying that they were also writing to the two sons of Sanballat, the governor of Samaria. A second papyrus<sup>27</sup> contains the rescript of Bagoses, which granted them permission to rebuild their temple. How did these Jews come to live at Elephantine, and how are these various facts to be explained? Scholars are pretty well agreed that these Jews were a part of a garrison, placed at Elephantine by Psammetik of Egypt, to protect his frontier against the Nubians. Opinion differs as to whether it was Psammetik I, 663—609 B.C., or Psammetik II, 593—588 B.C. Even if we assume that it was Psammetik II, at that time the struggle for the general observance of the Deuteronomic law, which had begun in 621, had not yet reached a successful issue. Not all

<sup>26</sup> Sachau, *op. cit.*, No. 1.

<sup>27</sup> Sachau, *op. cit.*, No. 3.

Jews believed in Deuteronomy, so these Jews built themselves in Egypt a temple to Yahweh. By the year 410, however, when Waidrang destroyed the temple at Elephantine, the Levitical law had been in force for more than thirty years. Naturally, therefore, the high priest at Jerusalem ignored the request of his Egyptian brethren. It was not until they appealed to the schismatic Samaritans, that they obtained influence enough on the part of influential Hebrews, who stood near the governor, to secure the granting of their request. If the critical view is true, the facts are explicable, otherwise they are not.

5. Another point in which the discoveries of archaeology strikingly confirm the results of criticism has to do with the book of Daniel. Critics with great unanimity date Daniel 168—165 B.C., and regard it, not as history, but as an apocalypse, some of the historical statements of which are not in accordance with facts. We now have business documents from the whole period from which the book of Daniel is supposed by tradition to come,<sup>28</sup> and we have some historical inscriptions also.<sup>29</sup> The business documents are dated in practically every year of every king of the period. We know from this evidence, not only that Belshazzar was never king, as he is said to have been in Daniel 5, but that he was not a son of Nebuchadnezzar. We also know that there was no such king as Darius the Mede, who is said to have come in between Belshazzar and Cyrus. Every year is full, and there is no room for him. Archaeology here unequivocally casts its influence on the side of criticism.

These instances are cited, not because the critical views need the support of such arguments, but simply in the interest of truth. Those who assert that the evidence of archaeology is always on the side of traditional views clearly do not have adequate knowledge of the subject of which they presume to be authoritative exponents.

In conclusion the fact should be noted that it is not the function of archaeology to deal with criticism at all, and it is but rarely that an archaeological fact has any vital bearing upon a critical theory. Any attempt to reconstruct ancient

<sup>28</sup> See the various Hefte of Strassmaier's *Babylonische Texte*.

<sup>29</sup> See *Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*, III<sup>2</sup>, 120—137.

history must take into account both the facts of archaeology and of criticism, if the reconstruction is to have any hope of accurately representing the facts of ancient life. Both external and internal evidence must be taken into account. Archaeological objects and ancient documents must both be put upon the witness stand. One must crossquestion them both, and not blindly accept the first impressions given by either one. It is as necessary to criticise the archaeological data, i. e., to seek to understand them from every point of view, as it is to criticise documents, i. e. really to understand them.

In this work, it is well that we have an army of eager minds; each anxious to discover the mistakes of all the others, for only so can we hope to reach secure results. The ablest scholar may unaccountably trip at any moment. Wellhausen affords an example of this. No investigator is more able; three different fields of inquiry, Arabian history, the Old Testament, and the New Testament, have been enriched by him. Nevertheless, when in his *Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, p. 56 (ed. 1), he says of Mk. 11:23, that the saying about removing this mountain and casting it into the sea cannot have been spoken on Olivet near Jerusalem, because no sea is visible there, but must have been uttered near the Sea of Galilee, he reveals the fact that he has never been in Jerusalem. Had he ever stood upon the Mount of Olives, or upon any high building in Jerusalem itself, and looked at the Dead Sea, which one, as he looks, naturally thinks he can reach by a short walk, the remark never would have been made.

So far from discrediting Wellhausen's work, this instance only shows in the case of a most illustrious scholar, how difficult it is to take everything into account.

No critic can be fully equipped who does not know the external facts which are relevant. No Biblical archaeologist is fully equipped who has not first-hand knowledge of the critical facts. When the critic takes into account all the facts of external evidence, and the archaeologist takes into account all the facts of internal evidence, it will not make much difference whether a man calls himself a critic or an archaeologist, provided he has adequate learning and a trained judgment.

## The Apocalypse of Ezra

PHILLIPS BARRY

CAMBRIDGE, MASS.

**A**MONG the numerous examples of Apocalyptic,<sup>1</sup> that have come down to us, the Fourth Book of Ezra is one of the most interesting documents of its kind. In its present form, it consists of a nucleus of Jewish origin, (chapters iii-xiv) with Christian additions (chapters i-ii, and xv-xvi). The Jewish portion, or "Apocalypse of Ezra," as it may be called, is notable for the fact that its teaching is much more nearly akin to Christian than to Jewish thought,—especially in its view of man, his state of sin, and need of redemption.<sup>2</sup> As such, it must have come from the pen of a liberal Hebrew, who lived at a time of great distress, and who found himself passing through the experiences which, in the case of Paul, led to the latter's conversion to Christianity. As devoted as any of his race had ever been to the traditional ideal of the pre-eminence of Israel,<sup>3</sup> and unable to reconcile this ideal with the new and growing ideal of the pre-eminence of the moral man, he had been led,

<sup>1</sup> Apocalyptic was in its aim and purpose, homiletic and practical, rather than scientific,—to find evidence, in the logic of events, of a world created but to reveal God's moral government, with Israel the human partner of the Divine. In its incidence, it was synchronous with the apocalyptic moments of Hebrew history,—occasions when the Hebrew racial temperament was in strong reaction against depressing exterior influences,—in particular, acts of profanation of the Temple by Gentiles. Its view of history was distorted,—serious, not always unintentional falsifications of facts frequently occur.

<sup>2</sup> 3 21-2, 25-6, 4 30, 7 116-26, 139, 8 3, 26,—in particular 7 118,—"O thou Adam, what hast thou done? For though it was thou that sinned the evil is fallen not on thee alone, but upon all of us that come of thee!" Cf. Rom. 5 12.

<sup>3</sup> 5 27: "Among all the multitudes of peoples, thou hast gotten thee one people."

in spite of himself, to seek relief for his perplexity in certain aspects of the new faith.<sup>4</sup> On the basis of its teaching, a late date should be assigned for the composition of the apocalypse, a conclusion which is warranted by additional internal evidence, consisting of allusions to events in Roman history, contained in the account of the famous Eagle-Vision.

According to this Vision, which takes up chapters 10 58 to 12 39, an Eagle, having twelve wings, eight winglets and three heads, is made to symbolise<sup>5</sup> the last of the four Gentile empires which are to hold Israel in captivity.<sup>6</sup> The apocalyptic moment is at some point in the period of domination of the empire by the powerful dynasty figured in the description of the three heads.<sup>7</sup> Scholars are agreed that under the similitude of the Eagle, covert allusion is made to Rome.<sup>8</sup> Hitherto, only Gutschmid,<sup>9</sup> and Le Hir,<sup>10</sup> both of whom place its composition in

<sup>4</sup> 9 13: "Inquire how the righteous shall be saved, they whose the world is, and for whom the world was created."

<sup>5</sup> 11 1: "There came up from the sea an eagle, which had twelve feathered wings and three heads . . . 3,—out of her wings there grew other wings over against them . . . 11,—and I numbered her little wings, . . . and behold, there were eight of them.

<sup>6</sup> 11 39: "Art not thou it that remainest of the four beasts whom I made to reign in my world that the end of my times might come through them?" (Cf. Dan. 2, 7-12.)

<sup>7</sup> 12 23-5. "In the last days thereof, shall the Most High raise up three kings, and renew many things therein, and they shall bear rule over the earth, and over those that dwell therein with much oppression, above all those that were before them,—therefore are they called the heads of the eagle."

<sup>8</sup> The Apocalypse of Ezra declares openly in favor of the "futurist" interpretation of the visions of Daniel. "The eagle, (i. e., Rome,—cf. 12 14-15,) "whom thou sawest come up from the sea is the fourth kingdom which appeared in vision to thy brother Daniel" (12 11-12). This interpretation is found in the Apocalypse of Baruch, cc. 36. 37, and in the so-called Synoptic Apocalypse (Mark, 13 14-27), both of which reflect Jewish thought during the years following the fall of Jerusalem, A. D. 70. Josephus knew both the preterist and the futurist interpretations of the book of Daniel (to use modern terminology). See his *Ant.* x, 11 7.

<sup>9</sup> A. von Gutschmid, "Die Apokalypse des Esra und ihre späteren Bearbeitungen," *ZWT*, 1860, pp. 1-80.

<sup>10</sup> A. M. Le Hir, "Du IV<sup>e</sup> Livre d'Esdras," *Études bibliques*, i, pp. 184-92.

the year 218 A. D., have seen in the historical allusions made in the course of the Eagle vision evidence of a late date for the book. The common and accepted view, however, is in favor of an early date, and finds in the symbolism of the three heads of the eagle, witness to the fortunes of the house of Vespasian.<sup>11</sup> Thus Charles declares "the work was written toward the close of the first century."<sup>12</sup> Box, the latest authority on the subject,<sup>13</sup> following Kabisch,<sup>14</sup> assigns it to the year 120. Sanday, in his able review of Box's edition, takes exception to this date on the ground that "the Eagle-vision points to the reign of Domitian."<sup>15</sup> When we turn back to the sweeping statement of Schürer to the effect that "there can be no mistaking the fact that all that is said with regard to the three heads will apply admirably to the three Flavian emperors, Vespasian, Titus and Domitian,"<sup>16</sup> we must admit that it is time to call for the testimony of the Roman historians.<sup>17</sup>

Now, according to the Apocalypse, it is stated concerning the great rulers symbolised by the heads, that the first to reign shall be a mighty conqueror, who shall put to death two rival aspirants for the throne, and after a reign of great severity, die on his bed in agony, to be succeeded by two lesser rulers, as joint heirs to the empire, one of whom shall slay the other with the sword, and reign alone, until his own death by violence.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The fact that Clement of Alexandria (*Strom. iii, 16*) cites a text of an Ezra-apocryph, ("Ἐσδρας ὁ προφῆτης λέγει") which corresponds to Apoc. Ezra, 5 35, already predetermines the choice of most scholars in favor of an early date.

<sup>12</sup> R. H. Charles, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, xi ed., p. 108, s. v. "Ezra, Fourth Book of."

<sup>13</sup> G. H. Box, *The Ezra Apocalypse*, p. XXXIII.

<sup>14</sup> R. Kabisch, *Das Vierte Buch Esra*, p. 175.

<sup>15</sup> *International Journal of the Apocrypha*, xxx, 44.

<sup>16</sup> E. Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, Div. ii, vol. iii, p. 106.

<sup>17</sup> Their several statements are to be given precedence in the order of the credibility of the several authors as witnesses.

<sup>18</sup> 11 31-2: "The head . . . did eat up the two under wings that thought to have reigned. But this head held the whole earth in possession."

<sup>19</sup> 26-8: "And whereas thou sawest that the great head appeared no more, it signifieth that one of them shall die upon his bed, and yet with pain

This is no true picture of the Flavian times. Vespasian came to the throne on the murder of Vitellius, whom mob-violence subjected to cruel indignities.<sup>19</sup> He was a wise and able ruler, —even a hostile Semitic imagination could not make him a prototype of the great tyrant of the Apocalypse. He did not put to death two rivals,—his death was not lingering and painful, but sudden, due to excessive drinking of ice-water.<sup>20</sup> Titus and Domitian never shared the throne. Probably no one in Rome except Domitian himself ever thought that Vespasian would leave his two sons joint heirs to the empire.<sup>21</sup> As for Titus, he died not by the sword, nor indeed, except in town gossip, absurdly reflecting the unpopularity of Domitian, by any cause for which his brother was responsible. A malignant fever, with severe delirium at its inception, terminating in collapse, perhaps due to intestinal perforation, ended his life.<sup>22</sup>

... the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him, but he also shall fall by the sword in the last days."

<sup>19</sup> Suet., Vitell., 17.

<sup>20</sup> Suet., Vesp. 24: *Hic cum super urgenter valetudinem creberrimo frigidae aquae usu etiam intestina vitiasset, nec eo minus muneribus imperatoriis ex consuetudine fungeretur, ut etiam legationes audiret cubans, alvo repente usque ad defectionem soluta, "imperatorem", ait, "stantem mori oportere", dumque consurgit ac nititur, inter manus sublevantium extinctus est.*

<sup>21</sup> Domitian pretended that his father left him joint heir with Titus, but that Vespasian's will had been altered to defraud him of his inheritance,—“fraudem testamento adhibitam” (Suet., Dom. 2).

<sup>22</sup> Suet., Titus, 10: *Sabinos petit aliquanto tristior... Deinde ad primam statim mansionem, febrim nanctus, cum inde lectica transferretur, suspexisse dicitur dimotis pallulis caelum, multumque conquestus, "eripi sibi vitam immerenti."* This is a clear statement to the effect that the early stages of Titus' illness exhibited severe delirium. Elsewhere, Suetonius records a bit of town gossip to the effect that Domitian induced the nurses to desert Titus at the crisis of his illness: “correptum gravi valetudine, prius quam plane efflaret animam, pro mortuo deseriuissit” (Dom. 2).

Further romancing about Domitian was possible. Thus Dio Cassius brings against Domitian the charge that he plunged the moribund Titus into a coffin filled with snow,—*ἔμπνουν γάρ τοι αὐτὸν ὅντα καὶ τάχα περιγενέσθαι δυνάμενον, ἐς λάρνακα χόνος πολλῆς γέμουσαν ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἐνέβαλεν, ἵνα θάσσον ἀποθάνῃ* (Dio Cass., lxvi, 26). Aurelius Victor decides in favor of poison as the means by which Domitian became his brother's murderer (De

The main objection to the Flavian theory is in the fact that it does not agree with history. Neither does it fit the statement of the Apocalypse. It is clear that, by the twelve wings of the Eagle are symbolised twelve emperors of Rome,—the first two being respectively Julius Caesar and Augustus.<sup>23</sup> Ten wings and eight winglets remain to be accounted for. If seven of the wings bring us down to the accession of Vespasian,<sup>24</sup> three wings and eight winglets remain unidentified.<sup>25</sup>

If a theory is to be worth anything at all, it must be one that follows the facts, instead of preceding them. The Flavian theory breaks down because it is made to precede the facts.

So far is the testimony of the historical allusions in the Eagle-vision from being in favor of an early date, so clear are the references in the symbolism of the three heads to the fortunes of the house of Septimius Severus, that, notwithstanding the stumbling-block of the famous Clementine citation,<sup>26</sup> it must be admitted that the Apocalypse of Ezra could not have reached its present form prior to the reign of Caracalla. Septimius Severus, symbolised as the great head of the Eagle,<sup>27</sup> was a man of blood and steel, a military despot who never lost a battle, and governed Rome with the iron hand of a Genghis Caes., x: *veneno interiit*). The substratum of truth beneath these stories is that Titus's illness took an unfavorable turn at the crisis,—instead of recovery, sudden collapse, accompanied by a violent chill and speedy death, supervened.

<sup>23</sup> 12 14: "In the same shall twelve kings reign, one after another, whereof the second shall begin to reign, and shall have a longer time than any of the twelve." Augustus did "begin to reign," and was emperor for 41 years.

<sup>24</sup> Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero, Galba, Otho, Vitellius. As a matter of fact, however, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius are not reckoned as emperors in the Johannine Apocalypse, nor are they by Clement, Eusebius, or Ptolemy.

<sup>25</sup> Schürer *l. c.*, p. 107, fills up the list by adding the names of Vindex, Nymphidius and Piso! A writer who knew enough to include Galba, Otho and Vitellius, would have known better than to include these pretenders,—even were he the most mendacious of apocalypticists in falsifying history, for the sake of his art. One would as soon think of reckoning Perkin Warbeck or Lambert Simnel among the kings of England.

<sup>26</sup> See note 11.

<sup>27</sup> 11 4: "The head in the midst was greater than the other heads."

Khan.<sup>28</sup> He literally waded in blood to the throne,—as the great head “did eat up the two under wings that thought to have reigned,”<sup>29</sup> he put to death, with barbarous indignities, his two rivals, Pescennius Niger, and Clodius Albinus.<sup>30</sup> With a despot’s conceit, he boasted openly of his exploits,—not without reason, perhaps seeing in himself the savior of the empire.<sup>31</sup> History records a sad end to his life. Long a sufferer from gout and neuritis, and perhaps conscious that an undutiful son wished for his death, Severus became despondent, and meditated suicide. Unable to obtain poison, he gorged himself with a hearty meal of heavy, rich food,—dying speedily, “upon his bed, and yet with pain,” a victim of acute indigestion.<sup>32</sup> To his sons,

<sup>28</sup> Herein historian and apocalyptic agree: Ps.-Aur., Epit., xx, Septimius Severus: *Fuit bellicosissimus omnium qui ante eum fuerunt*; Aur. Viet., De Caes. xx, 14: *Felix ac prudens armis praecipue, adeo ut nullo congressu nisi vicit discesserit, auxeritque imperium, subacto Persarum rege nomine Abgaro*; and Apoc. Ez., 11 32: “But this head held the whole earth in possession, and bare rule over those that dwell therein with much oppression, and it had the governance of the world more than all the wings that had been.”

<sup>29</sup> 11 28-31.

<sup>30</sup> History and Apocalypse herein agree: Aur. Viet., xx, 9: *Pescennium Nigrum apud Cyzicenos, Clodium Albinum Lugduni victos coegit mori*; Spartianus, Niger, v, 8: *Victus est, atque apud Cyzicum circa paludem fugiens sauciatus, et sic ad Severum adductus, atque statim mortuus*; Julius Capitolinus, Albinus, ix, 2: *Albinus fugit, et, ut multi dicunt, se ipse percussit, ut alii, servo suo percussus, semivivus ad Severum deductus est*; and Apoc. Ez., 11 28-31: “And I beheld, and lo, the two that remained, thought also in themselves to reign, and while they so thought, behold there awaked one of the heads that were at rest, namely, it that was in the midst . . . And . . . the head . . . did eat up the two under wings.” The cruelty of Severus is attested by his mutilation of the corpses of his vanquished rivals,—Spart., Severus, ix, 1: *conflixit eum Nigro, eumque apud Cyzicum interemis, caputque eius pilo circumtulit*; xi, 6,—deinde Albini corpore adlato, paene seminecis caput abscedi iussit, Romamque deferri . . . reliquum autem cadaver eius ante domum propriam exponi ac diu videri iussit. Equum praeterea ipse residens supra cadaver Albini egit, expavescerentque admonuit et effrenatum, ut audacter protereret.

<sup>31</sup> Spart., Severus, xxiii, 3: *Turbatam rem publicam ubique accepi, pacatam etiam Brittannis relinquo, senex ac pedibus aeger firmum imperium Antoninis meis relinquens, ac boni erunt, imbecillum, si mali (his last words).*

<sup>32</sup> History and Apocalypse herein agree: Spart., Severus, xix: *Perit Eboraci in Britannia, . . . morbo gravissimo, . . . iam senex*; Ps.-Aur.

the Antonines, as he called them, Geta and Bassianus, nicknamed Caracalla, he left the empire, intending they should rule as co-regents. Thus he made the mistake Vespasian knew better than to make and disaster followed. Anyone who knew Caracalla could have foretold his act,—he slew his brother with the sword, and handed his own name down to history, as that of the most contemptible scoundrel that ever disgraced a throne, loathed in his day by the world that had respected, however much it had feared, his father.<sup>33</sup>

It appears, on comparison of the statements of the Apocalypse with the testimony of the Roman historians, that everything which is said with regard to the rulers symbolised by the three heads, will apply with the minutest accuracy to known events in the fortunes of the house of Severus. Furthermore, it is stated that two winglets shall precede the great head,—these are symbolic of the emperors, Pertinax and Didius Julianus,—of whom the former reigned eighty-six days, and the latter, “sooner away than the first,” was murdered after sixty-six days of imperial power.<sup>34</sup> Thus we are able to identify completely

Epit. xx: *Is dum membrorum omnium, maxime pedum, dolorem pati nequiret, veneni vice, quod ei negabatur, cibum gravis ac plurimae carnis avidius invasit, quem cum conficere non posset, cruditate pressus, expiravit;* and Apoc. Ez., 12 26: “And whereas thou sawest that the great head appeared no more, it signifieth that one of them shall die upon his bed and yet with pain.”

<sup>33</sup> Historian and Apocalyptic agree,—Spart., Caracalla, ii, 4: *Conquestus est circumveniri se fratris insidiis, atque ita fratrem in Palatio fecit occidi;* and id., Geta, ii, 8: *Bassianus, cum eum occidisset, ac vereretur tyrannicam ex parricidio notam, audiretque posse mitigari facinus, si divum fratrem appellaret, dixisse fertur,—sit *divus*, dum non sit *vivus*.* Apoc. Ez. 11 35: “And I beheld, and lo, the head upon the right side devoured it that was upon the left side;” 12 28: “For the sword of the one shall devour him that was with him.” Caracalla was half-brother to Geta, whom he murdered, and whose mother he forced to marry him. The brutally cynical terms in which he proclaimed the deification of Geta were quite in keeping with his despicable character. “*Hic tamen omnium durissimus et, ut uno complectamur verbo,—parricida et incestus, patris, matris, fratris inimicus*” (Spart., Caracalla, xi, 5).

<sup>34</sup> Historian and Apocalyptic agree: Julius Capit., Pertinax, xv, 6: *Imperavit mensibus ii, diebus xxv.* Spart., Didius, ix, 3: *Imperavit mensibus duobus, diebus quinque* (cf. also Ps.-Aur., Epit. xviii: Dio Cass.,

six wings, four winglets, and three heads.<sup>35</sup> The identity of the remaining figures will depend on what disposition it is possible to make of the problem relating to the literary structure of the Apocalypse.

That the work is composite is generally agreed,—the final redaction, according to the usual view, being set in the period 96—120 A. D. Gutschmid and Le Hir, who draw their conclusions from the Eagle vision, dissent in favor of the year 218. The former, in the opinion of critics, absurdly, proclaims that the vision is an interpolation;<sup>36</sup> the latter ascribes the work to a Christian, who drew in part from older sources.<sup>37</sup> From both these views, the writer of the present essay, who deals only with facts, and has no theories, ventures to dissent. Mere interpolation is out of the question. Nor is the Apocalypse of Ezra the work of a Christian,—the writer is a Jew, solicitous for the fate of Israel, but forced to find place in his thought, quite against his own will, for the rising doctrine of election on a purely ethical basis.

A clew to the literary structure and date is obtainable, however, from the fact of the apparent absence of an apocalyptic moment in the apocalypse as we have it.<sup>38</sup> In fact, the last lxxiii, 10. 17); and Apoc. Ez. 11 25-7: "These under wings thought to set up themselves, and to have the rule. And I beheld, and lo, there was one set up, but within a while it appeared no more. A second also, and it was sooner away than the first."

<sup>35</sup> Six wings = six emperors of the Julian line.

Four winglets = Pertinax, Didius, Pescennius, Albinus.

Three heads = Septimius Severus, Geta, Caracalla.

<sup>36</sup> Gutschmid, *op. cit.*, p. 52: "Hiermit ist mathematisch bewiesen, . . . daß das Adlergesicht eine spätere Interpolation ist."

<sup>37</sup> Le Hir, *op. cit.*, p. 207: "Pour me resumer, le *iv<sup>e</sup>* livre d'Esdras tel que nous l'avons, est de l'an 218. Il a été composé par un chrétien, à l'aide d'un document plus ancien, d'origine juive, et qui remontait au dernier quart du premier siècle."

<sup>38</sup> The feature of apocalyptic is its immediacy,—Daniel, Apoc. Baruch, the book of Revelation,—not to speak of the apocalyptic portions of Enoch, and the Solomonic Psalter, were tracts for the times, written in historical crises. The age of Severus was marked by no Gentile persecution of Jews,—though the emperor did enjoin them from making proselytes, and put down an uprising in Syria,—for which Bassianus, as crown prince, was awarded a triumph. "Filio sane concessit, ut triumpharet, cui sena-

apocalyptic moment in Hebrew history, having racial significance, was on the occasion of the ethnicising of Jerusalem by Hadrian, following the suppression of the Bar-Cochba rebellion. The emperor razed city and temple, sparing no pains to render insult as well as injury to the subject race.<sup>39</sup> The land was held for virgin soil,<sup>40</sup> a new temple built and dedicated to Jupiter. The pious sentiments of Israel were outraged by the sight of a statue of the emperor in the holy place,<sup>41</sup> and the sculptured image of a pig, surmounting the Bethlehem gate.<sup>42</sup> Though the period must have been one of activity in apocalyptic writing, no document relating to the Hadrianic persecution is known to have come down to us. This fact is passing strange,—that the Jews had not forgotten how to hate is shown by the evidence of a curse, “crush his bones,” which in the Talmud and the Midrash follows the name of Hadrian.<sup>43</sup>

tus Iudaicum triumphum decreverat, idcirco quod et in Syria res bene gestae fuerant a Severo” (Spart. Severus, xvi).

<sup>39</sup> Schürer, Div. i, vol. 2, p. 293: “So long as Jerusalem lay in ruins, the Jews could cherish the hope of its restoration. The founding of a heathen city, the erection of a heathen temple on the holy place, put an end to these hopes in terrible manner.” Compare also the testimony of the ancient historians: Appian, Syriaca, 50: *τὴν μεγίστην πόλιν Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ ἀγιωτάτην αὐτοῦ [Πομπήιος] ἐσκαψεν, ἦν δὴ καὶ Πτολεμαῖος ὁ πρῶτος Αἰγύπτου βασιλεὺς καθηρήκει, καὶ Οὐεσπασιαῖος αὐθὺς οἰκισθεῖσαν κατέσκαψε, καὶ Ἀδριαῖος αὐθὺς ἐπ’ ἐμοῦ.* Jerome, ad Ioel. 1: Aelii quoque Hadriani contra Iudeaos expeditionem legimus, qui ita Ierusalem murosque subvertit ut de urbis reliquiis ac favillis sui nominis Aeliam conderet civitatem. Id. ad Isa. 1: Post Titum et Vespasianum et ultimam eversionem Jerusalem, sub Aelio Hadriano usque ad praesens tempus, nullum remedium est. Hadrian, in fact, pursued his policy of extermination in methodical and cold-blooded fashion,—successful where Antiochus Epiphanes had failed.

<sup>40</sup> Jerome, ad Zech. 8: 19: Aratum templum in ignominiam gentis oppressae. Plowing up the ruins of a city symbolised the seizure of the site as virgin soil. “Ad . . . diruendas civitates, aratrum adhibitum, ut eodem ritu quo condita, subvertantur” (Servius, ad Aen., iv, 212).

<sup>41</sup> Jerome, ad Isa. 2: 9: Ubi quondam erat templum et religio Dei, ibi Hadriani statua et Iovis idolum collocatum est.

<sup>42</sup> Eusebius, Chron. (Migne, Pat. Lat., viii, col. 469): Aelia ab Aelio Hadriano condita, et in fronte eius portae, qua Bethlehem egredimur, sus scalptus in marmore prominens, significans Romanis subiacere Iudeaos. Hadrian thus came to rival Antiochus as an object of execration.

<sup>43</sup> *Jewish Encyclopaedia*, art. “Hadrian,” *ad fin.*

Imbedded in the text of the Apocalypse of Ezra, however, are yet to be found traces of a lost Hadrianic apocalypse, composed after the suppression of the Bar-Cochba rebellion.

Of these passages, the first is as follows: 10 21ff: "For thou seest that our sanctuary is laid waste, our altar broken down, our temple destroyed, our psaltery is brought low, our song is put to silence, our rejoicing is at an end, the light of our candle-stick is put out, the ark of our covenant is spoiled, our holy things are defiled, and the name that is called upon us is profaned, our freemen are despitefully treated, our priests are burnt, our Levites are gone into captivity, our virgins are defiled and our wives ravished, our righteous men carried away, our little ones betrayed, our young men are brought into bondage, and our strong men are become weak, and what is more than all, the seal of Sion, for she had now lost the seal of her honor, and is delivered into the hands of them that hate us."

At first sight, this description might seem to apply equally well to the times of Vespasian and Hadrian. There is, however, a suggestion that the persecution has been unprecedentedly violent, practically a war of extermination, a policy for which Hadrian is known to have been responsible.<sup>44</sup>

In the second passage it is written: 12 14: "In the same shall twelve kings reign, one after another, whereof the second shall begin to reign, and shall have a longer time than any of the twelve." Compare also 11 17, — "There shall none after thee, (i. e., the second king) attain unto thy time, neither unto the half thereof."

The fact that the writer takes pains to distinguish the reign of Augustus in this manner, is due not to any desire to impress on his readers a fact of history,<sup>45</sup> but rather because the fact itself has some apocalyptic significance. Historically, in the period covered by the Eagle-vision, two emperors, Hadrian and Antoninus Pius, did indeed reign for a longer time than half the

<sup>44</sup> The founding of a heathen city on the site of Jerusalem may be implied in the reference to the "loss of the seal of Sion."

<sup>45</sup> A scientific historian deals with facts and writes history; the apocalypticist sees in history only a record, optionally falsifiable, with which to prove his theories.

years of Augustus. The writer must have known this, and, if he had been author instead of editor, he would have had no motive to ignore it. *If, however, the passage comes from a lost apocalypse inspired by the sad issue of the Bar-Cochba insurrection, and composed shortly before the death of Hadrian, ere the latter had been emperor half as many years as Augustus, it would have been much to the point for the author of the earlier document thus to predict the speedy end of the hated ruler, and the coming of the Messianic deliverance of Israel, by the statement that no emperor,—not even the one at that time in power,—was to have a reign half as long as "the second of the twelve."*<sup>46</sup>

With the identification of the nucleus of the Apocalypse of Ezra as a lost Hadrian-apocalypse, the way is open to the solution of other difficulties connected with our subject. The problem of the Clementine citation disappears,<sup>47</sup> since it is perfectly fair to suppose that he cited the lost Hadrian-apocalypse. As to the Eagle-vision, the lost apocalypse contained a much simpler version of it, in which the Roman empire was symbolised by an Eagle with twelve wings, representing the twelve emperors,<sup>48</sup> last of whom was Hadrian, the latter-day antitype of Antiochus Epiphanes, who was destined to be cast down to perdition by the hand of the Lord ere he had filled out a reign half as long as that of Augustus.<sup>49</sup>

In the reign of Caracalla, an apocalyptic moment of local significance occurred at Alexandria. On this occasion the tyrant added to his unlovely reputation by causing a massacre of all the able-bodied youth of the city.<sup>50</sup> In the number of

<sup>46</sup> An editor, forcing himself to keep the number at twelve, would here boldly ignore facts.

<sup>47</sup> See note 11. Briefly, the problem is as follows: 1. Clement cites 5 33,—hence the Apocalypse must have been written before 218. 2. But Clement could not have cited our Apocalypse of Ezra,—since it contains allusions to events subsequent to his own death.

<sup>48</sup> See note 24.

<sup>49</sup> 11 17.

<sup>50</sup> Spart., Caracalla, vi: Alexandriam petit, in gymnasium populum convocavit, eumque obiurgavit, legi etiam validos ad militiam praecepit. Eos autem, quos legerat, occidit exemplo Ptolemaei Euergetis, qui octavus

the slain there must have been many of Jewish descent, and this fact inspired a certain pious and liberal-minded Hebrew, the final editor of our Apocalypse of Ezra. To his pen we must ascribe the enlargement and adaptation of the Hadrian-apocalypse, in particular, as far as the Eagle-vision is concerned, the addition of the symbolism of the winglets,<sup>51</sup> the clumsy reckoning of the twelve wings,<sup>52</sup> and, what is most important, the accurate summary of Roman history under the Severan dynasty, as contained in the symbolism of the three heads.<sup>53</sup> The last part of the vision, containing allusions to the "small kingdom and full of trouble,"<sup>54</sup> is best taken as a forecast of events to succeed the predicted assassination of Caracalla, whose fate was easy to prophesy, since he lived at a time when never more uneasy lay the head that wore the crown.

hoc nomine appellatus est. Dato praeterea signo militibus, ut hospites suos occiderent, magnam caedem Alexandriae fecit.

<sup>51</sup> 11 11, 12 20.

<sup>52</sup> Historically, (leaving out Galba, Otho, Vitellius), thirteen emperors reigned from the death of Augustus to the accession of Pertinax. In some way satisfactory to himself, the writer strait-jacketed facts in true apocalyptic manner,—his method is not worth guessing after.

<sup>53</sup> It is always to be observed that apocalypticists are the most accurate of historians for the times in which they live.

<sup>54</sup> 12 29-30.

## Brief Communications.

The Names of the Months on S. P. ii 263.

After my article on the Cuneiform Name of the Second Adar (above, pp. 139—145) was in type, Dr. Pinches was kind enough to re-examine the Babylonian variants to ASKT 64, 13. The result is that neither Pinches' original reading *II-bi* nor Strassmaier's *II-u* is correct: the two characters are *a-tar(kut)*. Strassmaier, however, was right in regarding the side of the tablet on which this reading is found as the reverse. On the obverse we find *ar(up) + tar(kut) ša //* (i. e. *Adari*). Pinches thinks that the scribe left out the characters *xu* and *a* between *ar(up)* and *tar(kut)*. He says, the text seems to be a student's practice-tablet. He therefore proposes to read *ar[-xu a-]tar ša Adari*.

I hardly think that the two signs have been omitted: the variant on the reverse is undoubtedly *arxu atar ša Adari*, but on the obverse we must read *arkût ša //*, i. e. *arkût ša Adari* which means *After-Adar*, as I explained above, p. 144; cf. French *arrière-saison*, &c. Strassmaier's reading *ar-kat* is not correct. Dr. Schick informs me that this character (*kut, tar*) is exactly like the last sign of the Sumerian name of the Adar, *iti-še-kiñ-kut*. The duplicates referred to in Bezold's *Catalogue* sub K 8521 shed no light on the problem.

The variant on the reverse, *arxu atar ša Adari*, proves the correctness of my explanation of the Sumerian *dir*, which I suggested more than 25 years ago (BA 1, 14, 1. 14; cf. above, p. 141, and PSBA 35, 23): *atar* is, of course, the construct of *atru* (= *uatri*) excess, just as we have *atar-xasîsu*, extremely clever (BA 2, 401; KB 6, 106, 39, and 415). For the construct before *ša* in *atar ša Adari* and *arkût ša Adari* cf. the conclusion of AG<sup>2</sup> § 98<sup>a</sup> (*têm ša Arabi*, news of the Arabs).

Consequently we have, in addition to the five cuneiform names for the Second Adar, enumerated above, p. 144, a sixth name: *arxu atar ša Adari*. In the first name, Sumer. *iti-dir-še-kin-kut* (cf. p. 140, below) *dir* has been omitted on p. 144. The second name given above, on p. 144, is correct although it is not found on the tablet with the names of the months.

Pinches' paper on the Sumerians of Lagaš in the first part of PSBA 35 was published after I had sent the manuscript of my article on the Second Adar to the Editor of this JOURNAL (Jan. 4, 1913). According to Pinches (PSBA 35, 20. 23. 127) the Sumerian name of the Adar does not mean *grain-harvest month*, but *grain-mowing month*, i. e. the month in which the blades of the wheat-plants were mown. He connects this designation with the statement in Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* 8, 7 (cf. G. Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, 1, 47) that it was the custom to mow the growing blades twice, and then to allow the beasts of the field to feed off them.

For the unlucky character of the number 13 cf. Ernst Böklen, *Die "Unglückszahl" Dreizehn und ihre mythische Bedeutung* (Leipzig, 1913). According to F. Ll. Griffith (EB<sup>11</sup> 9, 77<sup>b</sup>, below) the five epagomenal days were considered unlucky in Egypt; therefore no known monument or legal document is dated in them; see, however, Ed. Meyer, *Gesch. d. Altertums*, vol. i, part 2 (1913) pp. 31. 107. 110.

Johns Hopkins University.

Paul Haupt.

## PROCEEDINGS

DECEMBER 1912.

THE forty-eighth meeting of the Society was held in the National Museum, Washington, D. C., on Friday and Saturday, December twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth, 1912. The first session began at 2.30 p. m., in room 45. President Paton took the Chair and read the annual address. His subject was "Israel in Canaan." By reason of a gratifying increase in attendance, adjournment was taken at this point, from room 45, which was overcrowded, to the Auditorium of the Museum. At 3.15, Professor Montgomery read the report of the Corresponding Secretary, after which the Recording Secretary read his report. These reports were accepted and placed on file. It was voted that the obituary portion of the Recording Secretary's report be printed in the Journal. Professor Prince then read the Treasurer's report, and the Recording Secretary read his financial statement. These two accounts with their vouchers were referred to an Auditing Committee, consisting of Professors Kyle and Kelso.

From 3.30 to 5.00, papers were read and discussed as follows:

By Professor Bacon: "The Prologue to John of Codex Toletanus."

(This paper was presented only in part.)

By Professor Prince: "Note on Ichabod."

By Professor Haupt: "The Visions of Zechariah."

By Professor Cadbury: "The Alleged Medical Language of Luke and Acts."

By Professor Jastrow: "An Analysis of Leviticus XIII—XIV."

The Chair appointed Professors Jastrow, Fullerton and Kelso a Committee to nominate officers.

Adjourned.

**Friday evening.** The Society met in the Auditorium, in joint session with the Archaeological Institute of America and the American Philological Association.

**Saturday A. M., December twenty-eight.** The joint session was resumed at 9.30, in four sections. The Oriental Section met in the Auditorium, and most of the papers presented were by members of the "Biblical Society."

**Saturday P. M.** The Society met in the Auditorium at 2.30, but soon adjourned to rooms 46 and 47, in order that the joint meeting of the other two Societies might have sufficient space. Professor Kyle reported that the Auditing Committee had found the accounts and vouchers of the Treasurer and of the Recording Secretary correct. The Council reported that they had elected Professor James A. Montgomery as Corresponding Secretary, and Professor William H. P. Hatch and William H. Cobb as additional members of the Publishing Committee. They announced that the next meeting is to be held December 29 and 30, 1913, at the Jewish Theological Seminary, New York City, with Professors Friedländer, Gott-heil and Prince as Committee of Arrangements. They nominated for active membership in the Society:

Miss Charlotte H. Adams, New York City, New York.

Dr. Earl Bennett Cross, Brown University, Providence, R. I.

Prof. D. E. Culley, Western Theological Sem., Pittsburgh, Pa.

George Dahl, M. A., Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

Prof. Frank Leighton Day, Randolph-Macon College, Ashland, Va.

Dr. Orrin D. Foster, Madison, Wisconsin.

Rev. Warren F. Gookin, Episcopal Theol. School, Cambridge, Mass.

Prof. Charles B. Hedrick, Berkeley Divinity School, Middletown, Connecticut.

Dr. Matthew W. Lampe, Philadelphia, Pa.

Rev. Walter A. Matos, Swarthmore, Pa.

Rev. John Meighan, New Britain, Pa.

Rev. John Miller, A. M., Coudersport, Pa.

Rev. William M. Nesbit, A. M., Montclair, N. J.

Prof. Waldo S. Pratt, Hartford Theological Sem., Hartford, Conn.

Prof. Frank H. Ridgely, Lincoln University, Chester Co., Pa.

Prof. Henry A. Sanders, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Mr. Louis Wallis, Chicago, Illinois.

Dr. Clarence R. Williams, Philadelphia, Pa.

These were all unanimously elected.

Professor Jastrow reported for the Nominating Committee, presenting the following list of officers:

Prof. George A. Barton	<i>President.</i>
Prof. Nathaniel Schmidt	<i>Vice-President.</i>
Rev. William H. Cobb	<i>Recording Secretary.</i>
Prof. J. Dyneley Prince	<i>Treasurer.</i>
Prof. William R. Arnold	<i>Associates</i>
Prof. Walter R. Bitteridge	
Prof. Loring W. Batten	
Prof. Francis A. Christie	
Prof. Edward I. Bosworth	<i>in Council.</i>

These were all unanimously elected.

It was voted that the thanks of the Society be returned to the institutions that have hospitably entertained its members: to the Washington Society of the Archaeological Institute; to the Smithsonian Institution; and to the Universities of Washington and vicinity.

Papers were then presented as follows:

By Professor Pratt: "Statistical Experiences in the Psalter."

By Professor Haupt: "The Cuneiform Name of the Second Adar."

By Mr. George V. Schick: "The Hebrew Adverb Dûmâm."

By Professor Bacon: the conclusion of his paper on the Prologue to John.

By Dr. Kyle: "The Hyksos of Heliopolis."

By Professor Robinson: "The Mosaic Olive-Press at Moresheth-Gath."

(This was read, in the author's absence, by the Recording Secretary.)

Adjourned at 4.30.

WILLIAM H. COBB,

*Recording Secretary.*

### MEMBERS DECEASED

**Daniel Merriman.** We lament the loss of one who was not only a Christian scholar, but also, and emphatically, a Christian gentleman. He was keenly alive to all forms of religious progress, and in hearty sympathy with critical research; his face was ever turned towards the dawn.

**Henry S. Nash.** His published works were known and appreciated everywhere; one might single out for mention here

a small book in the direct field of our Society, "The Higher Criticism of the New Testament." He impressed his own original and delightful personality upon his students.

**William N. Clarke.** He also was an eminent author who trained successive generations of students for the Christian ministry. Though a theologian rather than an exegete, he always remembered that exegesis gives theology its best material. His "Outlines of Christian Theology" appeared at a most opportune moment, and holding out a hand of welcome to both conservatives and liberals, helped them to understand each other.

**Willis J. Beecher.** A pioneer founder of the Society. He served as its Treasurer for nineteen years, 1884—1902. His papers and brief notes in the Journal were always important and suggestive. His judicial cast of mind will be recalled gratefully by all who knew him. He was ready, on the one hand, to criticize men of his own school of thought; on the other hand, to demand justice and liberty for friends of the opposite camp. President Harper said of him:

"He holds a conservative position, it is true; but he reaches it by modern methods."

If he had written nothing else, "The Prophets and the Promise" would keep his memory green.

**George D. Castor.** This is in some respects the saddest death we have to chronicle. He was one of our younger members, who lost his life in a drowning accident in July, 1912. Joining the Society in 1906, and making his mark in Yale Theological Seminary, he afterwards removed to the far West, and entered on a promising career as Professor in Pacific Theological Seminary.

To human judgment, the life-work of the other four deceased members was mainly accomplished, while his was mainly incomplete. But in this, as in all things, human judgment is subject to revision by the wisdom of the All-Seeing.

## ANNUAL REPORT

OF

THE TREASURER OF THE SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE  
AND EXEGESIS*December, 1911, to December, 1912*

## Receipts

1912

Jan. 1, Carried forward . . . . .	\$ 52 73
Dues . . . . .	648 10
Initiations . . . . .	75 00
Professor Schmidt . . . . .	194 00
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Total . . . . .	\$ 969 83
<hr/>	<hr/>

## Disbursements

1912

Jan. 3, Dr. Cobb . . . . .	\$ 15 00
May 16, J. S. Cushing Co., J. B. L. xxxi, pt. 1 . . . . .	233 70
July 3, J. S. Cushing Co., J. B. L. xxxi, pt. 2 . . . . .	124 12
Oct. 14, J. S. Cushing Co., J. B. L. xxxi, pt. 3 . . . . .	162 78
Dec. 8, J. A. Montgomery . . . . .	15 00
Dec. 19, J. S. Cushing Co., J. B. L. xxxi, pt. 4 . . . . .	239 65
Exchange . . . . .	.10
Cash in hand . . . . .	178 61
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Total . . . . .	\$ 969 83
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Respectfully submitted, Dec. 27, 1912.

J. DYNELEY PRINCE, *Treasurer.*

Audited, and found correct, Dec. 27, 1912.

M. J. KYLE, }  
J. A. KELSO, } *Auditors.*

REPORT  
OF  
FUNDS IN HANDS OF RECORDING SECRETARY

**Receipts**

1912	Balance, Dec. 28, 1911 . . . . .	\$ 63 18
Jan. 2, Sale of offprints (Newbold) . . . . .	15 00	
July 3, Sale of offprints (Arnold) . . . . .	5 00	
July 22, Sale of offprints (Burton) . . . . .	15 00	
Oct. 7, Sale of offprints (Haupt) . . . . .	10 00	
Dec. 24, Journal sales for the year . . . . .	211 75	
		\$ 319 93

**Disbursements**

1912	Thomas Todd, printing programmes, circulars, etc. .	\$ 32 46
	Carter, Rice & Co., envelopes . . . . .	18 78
	B. Herder, subscription cancelled . . . . .	2 00
	Berwick & Smith Co., printing leaflets . . . . .	2 00
	Berwick & Smith Co., press work, vol. 31, part 1 .	55 11
	Berwick & Smith Co., press work, vol. 31, part 2 .	57 50
	Berwick & Smith Co., press work, vol. 31, part 3 .	42 48
	Berwick & Smith Co., press work, vol. 31, part 4 .	42 01
	Jordan, Lovett & Co., insurance . . . . .	10 20
	Distributing Journal, vol. 31, part 1 . . . . .	12 00
	Distributing Journal, vol. 31, part 2 . . . . .	13 00
	Distributing Journal, vol. 31, part 3 . . . . .	3 41
	Distributing Journal, vol. 31, part 4 . . . . .	4 90
	Postage, expressage, etc, for the year . . . . .	9 01
		\$ 304 86
Dec. 28, Balance in Old Colony Trust Co., Boston . . . . .		15 07
		\$ 319 93

Audited and found correct, Dec. 27, 1912.

M. J. KYLE, } *Auditors.*  
J. A. KELSO, }

MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY<sup>1</sup>

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 Prof. T. K. Cheyne, D.D., Oxford.  
 Prof. S. R. Driver, D.D., Oxford.  
 Prof. Adolf Harnack, D.D., Berlin.  
 Prof. A. Jülicher, D.D., Marburg.  
 Prof. William Sanday, D.D., Oxford.  
 Prof. A. H. Sayce, D.D., Oxford.  
 Pres. S. Schechter, Litt.D., Jewish Theological Seminary, New York.  
 Prof. G. A. Smith, D.D., Aberdeen University.  
 Prof. Bernhard Weiss, D.D., Berlin.  
 Prof. F. C. Burkitt, M.A., Cambridge.

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 (242) '92 Pres. Cyrus Adler, Ph.D., 2041 North Broad St., Phila., Pa.  
 (466) '11 Prof. Herbert C. Alleman, Gettysburg, Pa.  
 (482) '12 Prof. Alfred E. Alton, Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.  
 (415) '07 Prof. Frederick L. Anderson, D.D., Newton Centre, Mass.  
 (425) '08 Prof. John B. Anderson, Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.  
 (462) '10 Rev. Abraham S. Anspacher, 845 Monroe Ave., Scranton, Pa.  
 (243) '92 Prof. A. W. Anthony, Lewiston, Me.  
 (341) '00 Rev. William P. Armstrong, Jr., Library Place, Princeton, N.J.  
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 (373) '04 Prof. Wm. Frederic Badé, Ph.D., Pacific Theol. Sem., Berkeley, Cal.  
 (469) '11 Phillips Barry, A.M., Felton Hall, Cambridge, Mass.  
 (210) '91 Prof. George A. Barton, Ph.D., Bryn Mawr, Pa.  
 (211) '91 Prof. L. W. Batten, Ph.D., Gen. Theol. Seminary, Chelsea Sq., N.Y. City.  
 (310) '97 Rev. R. H. Beattie, M.A., 321 N. Central Ave., Austin Station, Chicago, Ill.

<sup>1</sup> This list has been corrected up to Aug. 26, 1913. Members are requested to notify the Recording Secretary of any change of address.

<sup>2</sup> The two numbers prefixed to the name of each member indicate the order and date of his accession to membership in the Society.

(51) '81 Prof. I. T. Beckwith, Ph.D., Hartford, Conn.  
 (326) '99 Prof. George R. Berry, D.D., Colgate Univ., Hamilton, N.Y.  
 (343) '00 Prof. Walter R. Betteridge, Rochester Theol. Sem., Rochester, N.Y.  
 (318) '98 Prof. Julius A. Bewer, Ph.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.  
 (398) '07 Prof. Francis B. Blodgett, Gen. Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.  
 (380) '05 Prof. Edward I. Bosworth, D.D., Oberlin, Ohio.  
 (423) '08 Prof. Clayton R. Bowen, Meadville Theol. School, Meadville, Pa.  
 (130) '84 Rev. C. F. Bradley, D.D., 90 Mt. Vernon St., Boston, Mass.  
 (370) '03 Rev. Lester Bradner, Jr., Ph.D., 281 4th Ave., N.Y. City.  
 (352) '02 Prof. Caroline M. Breyfogle, 16 E. 14th Ave., Columbus, O.  
 (311) '97 Miss Emilie Grace Briggs, Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.  
 (85) '83 Prof. C. R. Brown, D.D., Newton Centre, Mass.  
 (20) '80 Pres. Francis Brown, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.  
 (301) '96 Prof. Wm. A. Brown, D.D., Union Theol. Sem., N.Y. City.  
 (102) '84 Prof. M. D. Buell, D.D. 382 Newbury St., Boston, Mass.  
 (351) '02 Arthur Bumstead, 842 Somerset Bldg., Winnipeg, Can.  
 (120) '84 Prof. Sylvester Burnham, D.D., Hamilton, N.Y.  
 (91) '83 Prof. E. D. Burton, D.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.  
 (470) '11 Pres. Marion LeRoy Burton, D.D., Smith College, Northampton, Mass.  
 (22) '80 Pres. H. A. Buttz, D.D., Madison, N.J.  
 (471) '11 Henry J. Cadbury, Haverford College, Haverford, Pa.  
 (472) '11 Prof. Henry Beach Carré, Vanderbilt Univ., Nashville, Tenn.  
 (392) '06 Prof. Shirley J. Case, Ph.D., Univ. of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.  
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OF THE  
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(As Amended Dec. 28, 1901)

CONSTITUTION

I

THIS association shall be called "The Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis."

II

The object of the Society shall be to stimulate the critical study of the Scriptures by presenting, discussing, and publishing original papers on Biblical topics.

III

The officers of the Society shall be a President, a Vice-President, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, and a Treasurer, who, with five others, shall be united in a Council. These shall be elected annually by the Society, with the exception of the Corresponding Secretary, who shall be elected annually by the Council. Additional members of the Council shall be the Presidents of the Sections hereinafter provided for. There shall be also a Publishing Committee, consisting of the Corresponding Secretary and two others, who shall be annually chosen by the Council.

IV

Members shall be elected by the Society upon the recommendation of the Council. They may be of two classes, active and honorary. Honorary members shall belong to other nationalities than that of the United States of America, and shall be especially distinguished for their attainments as Biblical scholars. The number of honorary members chosen at the first election shall be not more than ten; in any succeeding year not more than two.

V

The Society shall meet at least once a year, at such time and place as the Council may determine. On the first day of the annual meeting the President, or some other member appointed by the Council for the purpose, shall deliver an address to the Society.

VI

Sections, consisting of all the members of the Society residing in a particular locality, may be organized, with the consent of the Council

for the object stated in Article II, provided that the number of members composing any Section shall not be less than twelve. Each Section shall annually choose for itself a President, whose duty it shall be to preside over its meeting, and to take care that such papers and notes read before it as the Section may judge to be of sufficient value are transmitted promptly to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society. The Sections shall meet as often as they shall severally determine, provided that their meetings do not interfere with the meetings of the Society.

## VII

This constitution may be amended by a vote of the Society, on recommendation of the Council, such amendment having been proposed at a previous meeting, and notice of the same having been sent to the members of the Society.

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## BY-LAWS

### I

It shall be the duty of the President, or, in his absence, of the Vice-President, to preside at all the meetings of the Society; but, in the absence of both these officers, the Society may choose a presiding officer from the members present.

### II

It shall be the duty of the Recording Secretary to notify the members, at least two weeks in advance, of each meeting, transmitting to them at the same time the list of papers to be presented at the meeting; to keep a record of the proceedings of such meetings; to preserve an accurate roll of the members; to make an annual report of the condition of the Society; to distribute its publications, and to do such other like things as the Council may request.

### III

It shall be the duty of the Corresponding Secretary to conduct the correspondence of the Society, and in particular, to use his best efforts for the securing of suitable papers and notes to be presented to the Society at each meeting; to prepare a list of such papers, and to place it in the hands of the Recording Secretary for transmission to the members; to receive all papers and notes that shall have been presented, and lay them before the Publishing Committee.

### IV

It shall be the duty of the Treasurer to take charge of all the funds of the Society, and to invest or disburse them under the direction of the Council, rendering an account of all his transactions to the Society at each annual meeting.

## V

It shall be the duty of the Council to propose candidates for membership of the Society; to elect the Corresponding Secretary and the additional members of the Publishing Committee; to fix the times and places for meetings, and generally to supervise the interests of the Society.

## VI

It shall be the duty of the Publishing Committee to publish the proceedings of the Society, and also to select, edit, and publish, as far as the funds of the Society will justify, such papers and notes from among those laid before them, as shall in their judgment be fitted to promote Biblical science.

## VII

The fee for admission into the Society shall be five dollars, besides which each member shall annually pay a tax of three dollars; but libraries may become members without the fee for admission, from which, also, members permanently residing abroad shall be exempt. The donation at one time, by a single person, of fifty dollars shall exempt the donor from all further payments, and no payments shall be required of honorary members.

## VIII

Each member shall be entitled to receive, without additional charge, one copy of each publication of the Society after his election; in addition to which, if he be a contributor to the *Journal*, he shall receive twenty-five copies of any article or articles he may have contributed.

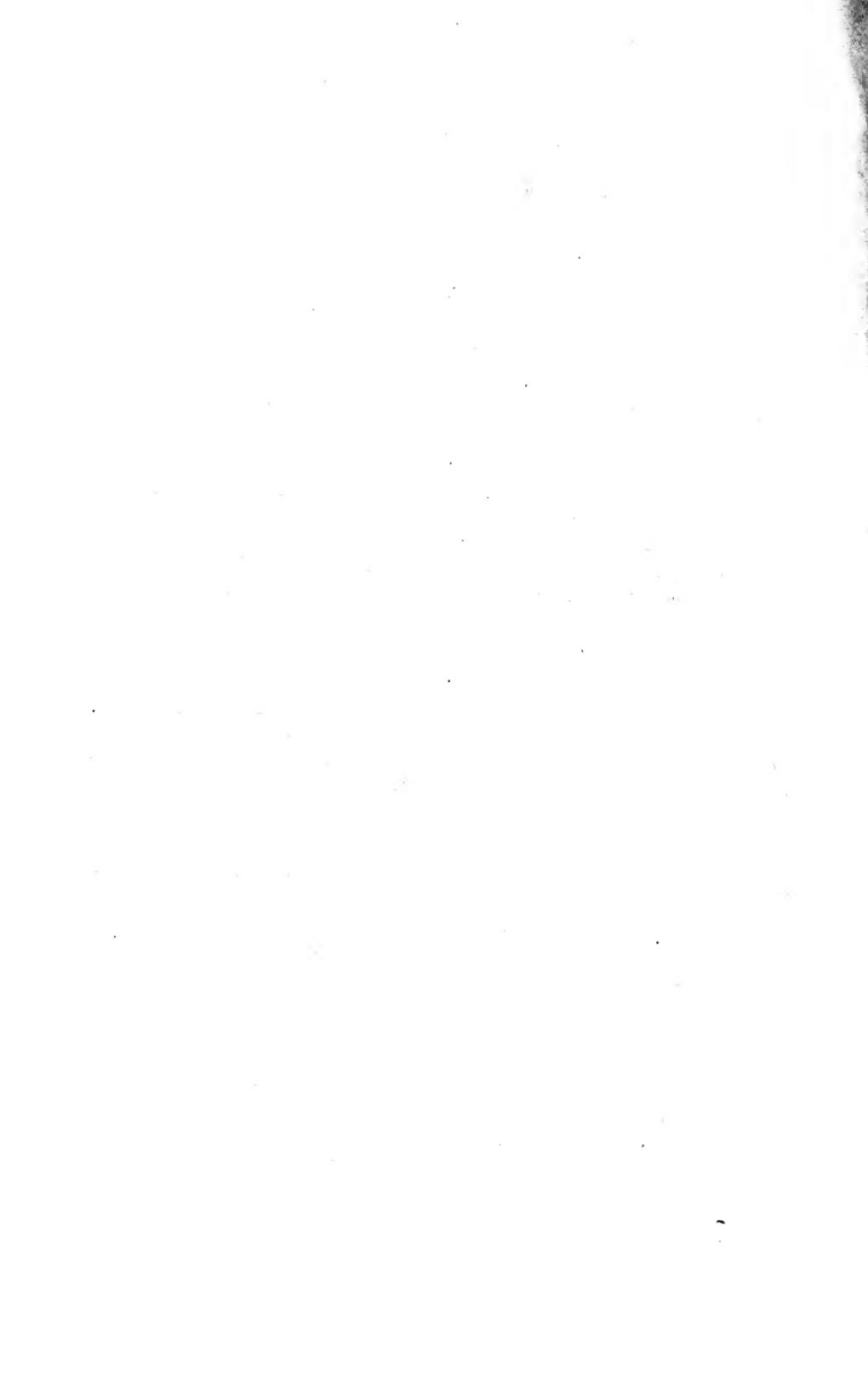
## IX

Five members of the Council, of whom not less than three shall have been elected directly by the Society, shall constitute a quorum thereof. Twelve members of the Society shall constitute a quorum thereof for the transaction of business, but a smaller number may continue in session for the purpose of hearing and discussing papers presented.

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The following resolution, supplementary to the By-Laws, with reference to the price at which members may procure extra copies of the *Journal* was adopted June 13th, 1884.

*Resolved:* That the Secretary be authorized to furnish to members, for the purpose of presentation, additional copies of any volume of the *Journal*, to the number of ten, at the rate of \$1 a copy, but that the price to persons not members be the amount of the annual assessment.







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